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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*
WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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SLAVERY AND SLAVE LIFE IN BRAZIL.

NO. V.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

WHAT MR. EWBANK SAW AND SAYS.

[1856.]—THOMAS EWBANK, in his interesting and finely illustrated volume on "Life in Brazil, or a Journey to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm" (New York: Harpers, Brothers), has furnished us more fully than any other American, with important information as to the condition of the negroes and workings of the "Domestic Institution" in that empire.

Not far from the capital, there is an old estate which Mr. Ewbank visited. It had been in the family for several generations. The mother of the present proprietor, a venerable lady of ninety, recently deceased, kept them up to her death. Carefully instructing the slaves, the first thing she taught them was to address the Virgin. Every night the bell on the portico, which awoke them to work and called them from it, summoned them to prayers, which, as surviving head of the family, she read. As soon as they were concluded, her children, grandchildren, and any other relations present, saluted her, and each slave, in passing out, asked and received her blessing for the night. She sometimes roused all, blacks and whites, at matins at two o'clock in the morning. One old negro troubled her exceedingly. "Work, work, work, all day," he would say, "and pray, pray, pray, all night—no negro stand that."

At the Brazilian eating-houses the author saw young colored men come in, sit down, without hesitation, at the same table with whites, and, on a perfect equality, take part in the conversation.

Again, he says, that as the omnibus from Boto-Fogo stopped at the door, he saw three blacks seated among the white gentlemen. This is common. A free negro in decent attire—implied by the expression "wearing shoes and a neckcloth"—can take his seat in places of public resort and conveyance as freely as persons of the lightest complexion. The Constitution recognizes no distinction based on color.

All kinds of trades are carried on by black journeymen and boys. Mr. Ewbank saw slaves, even, working as carpenters, masons, pavers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, fabricators of military ornaments, carriage and cabinet-makers, lamp-makers, silver-smiths, jewelers and lithographers. It is also a fact that sculptures in stone, and saintly images in wood, are often done admirably by slaves and free blacks. A little gray-headed fellow—an old African—begs in the Cattete, who was once noted as an excellent sculptor, but now is an habitual drunkard. A man mentioned to Mr. Ewbank one slave who was a first-rate workman in sacred carving in Bahia.

This author saw four boat-loads of newly arrived Africans. Next to no secrecy was used in carrying on the traffic.

CRUELTIES OF SLAVERY.

Scattered throughout his pleasant volume there are many indications that slavery in Brazil is a very cruel barbarism.

"A Portuguese," he writes, "in the neighborhood, has the reputation of being unusually cruel to his slaves. One goes past the windows for water three or four times a day, in an iron collar, with an upright prong at one ear and a shorter one under the other. There he is again! and behind him a lad not over twelve, belonging to the same owner, wearing a similar instrument with a prong behind."

Slaves, he says, are beasts of draught as well as of burden. The loads they drag and the roads they drag them over are enough to kill both mules and horses. No wonder that slaves shockingly crippled in their lower limbs are so numerous. "There waddled before me," he writes, "in a manner distressing to behold, a man whose thighs and legs curved so far outward that his trunk was not over fifteen inches from the ground. It appeared sufficiently heavy without the loaded basket on his head, to snap the osseous stem and drop between his feet. I observed another whose knees crossed each other, and his feet preternaturally apart, as if superincumbent loads had pushed his knees in instead of out. The lamp-lighter of the Cattete district exhibits another variety. His body is settled low down, his feet are drawn both to one side, so that his legs are parallel at an angle of 30 degrees! The heads of Africans are hard, their necks strong, and both being perpendicular to the loads they are called to support, are seldom injured. It is the lower part of the moving columns, where the weights are alternately thrown on and off the jointed thighs and legs, that are the weakest. These necessarily are the first to give way under excessive burdens, and here are examples of their having yielded and broken down in every direction!"

"IN A MILD FORM!"

Here is another glimpse of slavery as it is seen in the streets of Rio de Janeiro: "Neither age nor sex is free from shackles. I met this morning a very handsome Mozambique girl, with a double-pronged collar on. She could not have been over sixteen. And a few evenings ago, while standing on the balcony of a house in Custom House street, a little old negress, four-fifths naked, toddled past, in the middle of the street, with an enormous tub of swill on her head, and secured by a lock and chain to her neck. 'Explain that, Mr. C——,' said I. 'Oh, she is going to empty slops on the beach, and very probably in the habit of visiting vendas, she is thus prevented, as the offensive vessel would not be admitted. Some slaves have been known to sell their "barils" for rum, and such are sent to the fountains and to the Praya as that old woman is.'"

Whatever is the cause, blindness is exceedingly prevalent among the slaves. It is distressing to meet so often one or more bearing full "barils" on their head, rolling their sightless eyeballs and feeling their weary way with sticks.

Lithographic scenes of life in Brazil, designed and published by native artists, portray slaves in shackles as freely as in their labors and their pastimes. At most of the smiths' shops, slaves' collars are exposed, as horse-shoes are with our blacksmiths—with gyves, chains and the like.

Masks and prongs are often seen in the streets on the necks and faces of slaves. The mask is worn to prevent the negro from drinking. Mr. Ewbank saw three or four masked female slaves. Masks are much less used than formerly, as there is a prejudice growing up against them. Cuts of these two instruments of torture and others for the same purpose, may be seen in Mr. Ewbank's book.

But these are not the only worst contrivances. The author saw instruments of torture so cruel and heavy—shackles for binding the ankles and wrists close together, and consequently doubling the bodies of the victims into the most painful and unnatural positions—that, had he not seen them, he would hardly have thought that such things were. He saw shackles, in one shop, made of bar-iron, three inches wide and three-eighths of an inch thick! Each consisted of three pieces, bent, jointed and fastened. A screw-bolt drew the straight parts close together. The distance from joint to joint was two feet.

A native merchant told Mr. Ewbank that another common punishment was to inclose the legs in wooden shackles or stocks. Some owners fasten their hands in similar devices, and some, again, retain relics of the old thumb screws to lock those members together. In the Northern provinces, according to this authority, the slaves are much worse used than in Rio; there it is no uncommon thing to tie their hands and feet together, hoist them off the ground, and then '*beat them as near to death as possible.*' A heavy log fastened by a chain to the neck or leg of a slave who has absconded or who is supposed to be inclined to run away, is a usual punishment and precaution. He is compelled to labor with it, laying it on the ground when at work, and bearing it under his arm or on his shoulder when he moves.

Here is a picture which can hardly be taken as an illustration of the "mildness" of Brazilian slavery:

"I dined one Sunday with a party at the beautiful and hospitable retreat of Messrs. M—— & McG——, at Boto-Fogo. Strolling along up an adjacent mount, I was very much startled by two of the most frightful looking and unfortunate of human beings rushing suddenly out of the bushes in front of me. Negroes of middle age, and wholly naked, except filthy rags round their loins. Each had an iron ring about his neck, connected by an ox-chain to shackles at his ankles. By another chain one hand of each were locked together. They bent forward, kneeled, held out their arms, sobbed, cried, screamed and made such frightfully agonizing supplications that I have often thought neither criminals condemned to die, nor even souls in Purgatory, could make such moving appeals. Poor fellows!—I did not make out what they asked for—money, victuals, or intercession with their master, the owner of the hill and of a neighboring quarry, in which he employed over two hundred slaves. These two had attempted to escape, and, when not at work, were ordered to this sequestered spot and forbidden to leave it."

LOUISIANA.

LETTER FROM J. WILLIS MENARD.

To the Editor of the Standard:

WE have every evidence that the South will yet lead the van in bringing this so long miscalled republican country into the broad, practical daylight of republicanism.

Having been foremost in oppression, she seems destined to be foremost in casting her anchor in the haven of *unqualified* freedom. Nothing gives more strength to this belief than the scenes which present themselves daily at the offices of registration in this city. He who doubted the freedman's appreciation of and interest in his *first political privilege*, finds his doubts unfounded on going to the office of registration and seeing there hundreds of colored men of all shades and ages waiting with joy-lit eyes for their turn to get "my voting paper." Yes, reader, they are there in regiments; the young, the old, the lame, the bowed down, the citizen and soldier, there, in the City Hall, in which was recently encamped that foul embodiment of vice, corruption and immorality, the chief of human butchers, John T. Monroe, who has forever enrolled his name on the black scroll of infamy, by the tragedy of the 30th of July. A recent dispatch from Cairo says that Ex-Mayor Monroe and family passed there *en route* for Canada! In *ante bellum* times, none but hound-driven slaves sought Her Majesty's dominions; but the tables seem turned to-day. Is it not a wonder that "His Eminence" *de la Maison Blanche* did not name John T. Monroe for the Austrian mission in lieu of the *effective* services rendered to "My Policy" by this shining patriot on the 30th July!

The negro is a walking hive now, and the rebels are swarming around him like so many bees. Even the New York *World* puts forth its claim for a share of the political honey. The heroes of the 30th July, here, have subscribed $100,000 for the purpose of buying negro votes. They are doing all in their power to intimidate the freedmen; and in various instances employers have discharged their colored laborers for having registered their names.

The Republican party is daily intrenching itself into the colored element, and extending its lines as far into the country parishes as Sheridan's guns will warrant.

There are three or four dozens of Republican Clubs in this city, but unfortunately they are not a unit. A faction calling themselves Ben Butlerites do not seem to stand squarely on the negro platform. They are of the Raymond-Cowan-Doolittle school, and trying to grow olive branches on the burning sand of "My Policy." They are in a hopeless minority, and will explode against the *black* political wall at our approaching municipal election. They, too, want the new political honey, but the negro will sting them when election day comes.

The New Orleans *Times* calls the registration a swindle, because the registras refuse to take the names of the "solid citizens of New Orleans," a few of whom "pay more taxes than all the Radicals and Republicans combined." This is not a new idea, of making the law subservient to men's pockets. The *Times* thinks that money is a fit apology for treason; but the registers don't see it in that light. Thus far, there are about 7,000 voters registered in this city, about three-fourths of whom are colored.

Our new Mayor is not a partisan, and moves very slowly in bringing the city under loyal officers. He is a good man, but not a popular one, and not apt to be elected. The campaign is fairly opened, and a dozen able speakers of both races are already on the stump, and we have every reason to believe that the result of the first election in this State, under the Military bill, will tend to give new wings to that odium recently hatched by the "notorious thirteen" of New Jersey.

The New Orleans *Tribune*, the first daily paper ever published by colored men in this country, has been enlarged. It is printed on large, new type, and continues to pour, with great "plainness of speech," its hot lava on the heads of the rebellion, regardless of their station or the immense depths of their pockets. It is a bold free-suffrage exponent, and never compromises principle for policy. It has borne the heat and burden of the dark days of riot and rebellion, and Congress has fitly recognized its services by making it one of its official organs in the South.

The New Orleans *Republican* is doing good work; it is ably conducted, and stands squarely on the negro question. It shoots with fatal precision, and is destined, combined with the *Tribune*, to form an eternal source of trouble to the enemies of justice and truth.

Gov. Wells, who seems at times, like Raymond, to belong to all parties, has been driven, by some unseen power, to appoint a colored man as one of the inspectors of hay for this city. This is one step in the right direction, and we hope he may follow it up steadily.

This is no time for half-way measures, and we are not apt to fully realize our civil and political rights until colored men are found in every department of our government, Federal, State and local. Gen. Sheridan has not seen fit to assume the great responsibility of appointing colored men to any office whatever, notwithstanding the colored population forms about 75 per cent. of the great body politic. This is our only hope, and we shall not let the golden apple slip from our fingers.

J. WILLIS MENARD.

New Orleans, April 26, 1867.

ENGLISH INJUSTICE.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM ROBSON.

LONDON, April 15th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

MY DEAR SIR: Where shall we look in this wide world for justice from the strong to the weak? England has just now been weighed in the scales and found wanting. The conduct of a man can never be better than his heart, and so national institutions, whatever their theoretical perfection, can practically never be better than the people that administer them. We have trial by jury, we have open courts, but what of all this when public opinion is formed, and antagonistic to the right and the true and the just! I do not recollect any sadder illustration of this in my time than English history of the last month will record to her everlasting disgrace. The general facts of the Jamaica insurrection are now well known. Whatever may be the truth of individual statements, whether this or that be correct, there can be no doubt that many negroes were ruthlessly murdered; that whether in terror, or whether in revenge, or, as is most probable, from a conjunction of causes, the white population, with the authorities and Gov. Eyre at their head, caused the lives of many colored people to be taken away without any legal authority or legal justification for so doing. And now when the law of England is attempted to be enforced against the delinquents, public opinion, working through the legal courts, acquits all these parties of crime, and declares that they shall not be put upon their trial at all. Sir Baldwin Leighton and the bench of magistrates in petty session at Market Drayton in the County of Shropshire, hearing full evidence, declare solemnly that there is not a case made out for further enquiry and so acquit Mr. Eyre. The Grand Jury of the County of Middlesex hearing the same evidence, with the echoes of one of the most magnificent and luminous charges from Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Chief-Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, that was ever delivered, ringing in their ears, dead against the criminals, if the alleged facts were legally proven—the facts themselves not even disputed—returned the bills against Col. Nelson and Lieut. Brand into court—*not found!* and so far as I know there has been no appealing protest by any part of the press or any body of men in all this kingdom against this mockery of justice! You, my dear sir, in America know the meaning of all this, for this same iron has too often entered into your own souls, but I think I may say that for the first time in this living generation, say for the last forty years, has anything so disgraceful been perpetrated in the name of law and justice in the English courts. Are we going backward here? You on your side the Atlantic are steadily progressing; have made one most magnificent step onward. You have fought the devil and conquered him, though, no doubt, in his dying agonies he shows himself as ruthless, and spiteful, and hateful as ever; but here we vainly imagined that law and justice reigned supreme; but alas! public opinion, nay, a base and diseased public opinion, has shown itself stronger than law, tramples justice under foot, and exhibits its blaspheming atheism to the world, triumphant in its sin and shame. Well, my dear sir, God does reign after all; His justice neither sleeps nor slumbers, and woe to the nation that invites his vengeance! One might have thought a French revolution in the generation past, an American slavery war, whose echoes have not yet died away, as warnings, with God's law written in every just man's conscience, would have been enough for all time to come to have kept us in the straight path of duty and to have purged individual guilt from the nation, but we are dead to all this; the nation by its institutions accept the sin of Eyre and his satellites for its own, and invites the Divine vengeance on itself. A vengeance that, without repentance and amendment of life, never spares. Woe, woe to the people that forget God. Yours faithfully, W. ROBSON.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE.

From the New York Times.

THE political history of the past two years has been little more than a record of the triumphs of what was originally the abolition party, and which has since become the ultra, absolutist element in the Republican party. This element has driven that party from the constitutional position which it held down to 1864,—and from one point to another,—each more "advanced" and extreme than its predecessor—ever since that time.

Where this movement is to stop, or whether it is to stop at all, is matter of conjecture. If it does stop it will be from compulsion and not from choice. Every victory thus far has proved to be only the precursor of new demands: and this is quite as true now as it was a year ago. They have secured universal suffrage for the blacks of the Southern States, with the exclusion from the ballot-box of a large portion of the whites: they have abrogated wholly the supremacy of law as administered by the civil tribunals, and have subjected the South to military control,—and they have succeeded in giving Congress absolute authority in the National government. For all this thus far they have had the general acquiescence and support of the people.

It becomes a matter of considerable importance to watch carefully all indications as to what this restless, insatiate and potent element of the dominant party proposes to do next. What they *propose* to-day may be *law* to-morrow. Judging from the past, it is very likely to be so. We publish this morning a letter from Senator Sumner and an article from the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD which will be read with interest in this connection.

Mr. Sumner's leading object in his letter is to insist upon subjecting suffrage in all the States North and South to the regulation of Congress. He demands that the States shall no longer be left free to define the qualification of voters within their limits, but that this shall be done by Congress. And he frankly avows that the specific object of this fundamental change in the practice of the government, is to secure the negro vote in all the States for the Republican party. "There are Northern States," he says, "where the votes of the negroes can make the good cause safe beyond question," and he is therefore in favor of giving the negroes the right to vote in every State without consulting the Constitution, laws or will of the people thereof. The fact that the Constitution of the United States recognizes, in express and explicit language, the right of each State to regulate the suffrage, and to prescribe the conditions of its exercise within its limits, is passed over by Mr. Sumner as utterly unworthy of notice. He condescends not to forget "the hesitations" which have been experienced on the subject, but that is all.

If Mr. Sumner and his friends can make it so, this is to be henceforward a plank in the platform of the Republican party. Thus far it has not been enforced as a doctrine absolutely essential to political salvation, but we cannot rely on the indefinite indulgence of this gracious and gratuitous tolerance. Those Republicans who hesitate to assert and uphold the absolute authority of Congress to control the suffrage in every State, will very soon come to be denounced as the confederates of Copperheads and rebels.

The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, which has been for some time past the fruitful source of inspiration for the "advanced" wing of the Republican party, is still more sweeping, though not more peremptory, than Mr. Sumner in its demands. It opens by branding the Republican majority in the XLth Congress as treacherous and cowardly. It shirked the impeachment of the President, which, with more candor than wisdom, it declares to have been the object for which it was convened. It pronounces the adjournment to July a contemptible trick. It denounces the Republican Congressmen as venal and corrupt,—charging them with having sold themselves for office in the most scandalous and disgraceful manner. It names individual members whom it holds subject to this serious charge, among them Bingham, Blaine and Banks, while its denunciation of individual Senators is even more direct and emphatic.

After this cheerful opening of its vials of wrath, THE STANDARD reads a solemn warning to those Republicans who seek to emancipate the party from the domination of this ultra-radical element. It graciously informs them that the only reason why the Republican party has been suffered to exist hitherto, is the fact that the radicals found it the "*most available instrument* for doing *their* work;" and it warns them that whenever that party *ceases* thus to do the work of the radicals, it will be abandoned and destroyed.

These pleasant intimations are followed by an invitation to the Democratic party to come near enough to allow the radical and the negroes to reinstate it in power. That such an alliance is by no means impossible would seem evident from the action of the two parties in the last Congress. The ultra radicals and Democrats coalesced more than once during that Congress, and the radicals secured more than one of their most signal victories by the help of Democratic votes. Thus the Democrats and Stevens men voted down the proposed qualifications,—and secured *universal* suffrage for the negroes of the District of Columbia. And the same coalition at a later day secured the partial disfranchisement of the whites in the South, while it gave the ballot to the Southern negroes without qualification or distinction of any kind.

What has been, may be. Meantime all we have to do just now is to watch the current of events.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE PARISHES.

From the New Orleans Tribune.

THE reconstruction party has already begun agitating the country parishes in order to gain, if possible, the votes of the new electors. No exertions will be spared, by our "best friends,"—who kept us so long under the Black Code—to persuade the men of color to vote for the Democratic or reconstruction candidates. They are already holding meetings in the country parishes, where they call on all citizens without distinction of color.

It is certainly a great triumph for us, and a remarkable progress in Southern society, to see proud planters, haughty chevaliers, humiliating themselves to the point of flattering their former slaves, and crouching to their very feet. We may well enjoy that spectacle, and think how the mighty have fallen! This we owe to our two thousand black and colored soldiers who taught the chivalry, on the battle-field, that they also knew how to fight.

But we must not be fools enough to make ourselves believe that all these blandishments and flatteries are prompted by a sincere admiration of the planter for his "negroes." The hatred and detestation that the conquered planters bear to the African race have never been more intense than they are to-day. And this can be easily accounted for. The planters nourish in their hearts the rancor consequent to recent defeat; and moreover they will never pardon us for the deep humiliation to which they have been reduced to-day to beg of our citizens their votes. Ambitious men, fond of domination and power, may agree to kneel before their conquerors, but they hate them the more for it. The German Emperor Barbarossa, in order to retain a remnant of power, consented to appear before the Pope as a supplicant, crawling on his knees and his elbows, and entirely naked—which scene is vividly recorded in one of the finest paintings, in the main Hall of the Vatican, at Rome. The humiliation of the great Emperor was crushing and complete. Prostrated on the floor, he begged the Holy Fathers' friendship and protection, like these chevaliers who beg to-day the vote of their former slaves. But the Pope did not imagine that Barbarossa had become at once his "best friend." He liked to see him humiliated, but at the same time he knew that humiliation is always repaid by hatred.

Therefore there can be no mistake about the true feelings of the former masters. The deeper they bow, the more their detestation and desire for revenge are growing in their bosoms. This is human nature, and no one can escape it.

Still, we repeat, it is worth a great victory to have brought these haughty planters to such a point of humiliation and baseness. Their power, like that of the great Emperor Barbarossa, is forever broken. But we must imitate the wisdom of the Pope—enjoy the humiliation of our enemy, but not trust in him.

There is more cause to-day than ever to keep clear from the planters' advice. Under the color of common interest, and with an affectation to disregard all political preferences, planters want to foster upon the colored people of the country parishes unreliable candidates, who will serve the interests of the aristocratic class. Meetings, as we said, have begun to be held. Several have been called by men who have not been conspicuous up to the present time in the politics of the State. They are chosen as tools, in order not to provoke the diffidence of the blacks. Should the planters have good dispositions, and be so friendly to our cause and progress, why do they not go to true and recognized Republicans to call these meetings together and address the people?

Some meetings have been called by provost-marshals, and do not seem thereby less objectionable in their character. Provost-mashals and Freedman's Bureau agents are too often in the interests of the planters. One of them told the other day, to a large assemblage, in one of our country parishes, that the men of African descent ought to vote for the masters who fed, clothed and cared for them for so many years, rather than to elevate strangers from whom they had received but the insignificant boon of freedom. This may be considered as the key-note of the coming movement. Vote for those who fed and clothed you, and cared for you and your children—and robbed you of your hard-earned wages, and your children of the inestimable benefit of education.

Such language cannot deceive anybody; and the attitude of the people, at the very meeting to which we have just alluded, shows that provost-marshals' efforts, in that direction, will be of no avail. Still, we believe it proper to denounce them. Our fellow-citizens are in no hurrry about choosing candidates. Let the facts, opinions and positions develop themselves. We have time before us; let us act slowly, wisely and considerately. But, as to friendship, never trust those who had made Black Code their creed.

CHARLES SUMNER'S VIEWS.

From the New York Independent.

SENATE CHAMBER, 20th April, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR: You wish to have the North "reconstructed," so at least that it shall cease to deny the elective franchise on account of color. But you postpone the day by insisting on the preliminary of a constitutional amendment. I know your vows to the good cause; but I ask you to make haste. We cannot wait.

Of course, we can always wait for the needful processes; but there are present reasons why we should allow no time to be lost. *This question must be settled without delay.* In other words, it must be settled before the Presidential election which is at hand. Our colored fellow-citizens at the South are already voters. They will vote at the Presidential election. But why should they vote at the South, and not at the North? The rule of justice is the same for both. Their votes are needed at the North as well as at the South. There are Northern States where their votes can make the good cause safe beyond question. There are other States where their votes will be like the last preponderant weight in the nicely-balanced scales. Let our colored fellow-citizens vote in Maryland, and that State, now so severely tried, will be fixed for human rights forever. Let them vote in Pennsylvania, and you will give more than twenty thousand votes to the Republican cause. Let them vote in New York, and the scales, which hang so doubtful, will incline to the Republican cause. It will be the same in Connecticut. I mention these by way of example. But everywhere the old pro-slavery party will kick the beam. Let all this be done, I say, before the next Presidential election.

Among the proposed ways of doing it is by a new constitutional amendment. But this is too dilatory. It cannot become operative till after the Presidential election. Besides, it is needless. Instead of amending the Constitution, read it.

Another way is by moving each State, and obtaining through local legislation what is essentially a *right of citizenship.* But this, again, is too dilatory, while it turns each State into a political maelstrom, and submits a question of *national* interest to the chances of *local* controversy, and the timidity of *local* politicians. This will not do. Emancipation was a national act, proceeding from the National government, and applicable to all the States. Enfranchisement, which is the corollary and complement of Emancipation, must be a national act also, proceeding from the National government, and applicable to all the States. If it be left to the States individually, the result, besides being tardy, will be uncertain and fragmentary.

There is another way, which is at once prompt, energetic and comprehensive. It is by act of Congress, adopted by a majority of two-thirds in spite of Presidential veto. The time has passed when this power can be questioned. Congress has already exercised it in the rebel States. I do not forget its hesitations. Only a year ago, when I insisted that it must do so, and introduced a bill to this effect, I was answered that a constitutional amendment was needed, and I was voted down. A change came, and in a happy moment Congress exercised the power. What patriot questions it now? But the power is unquestionable in the other States also. It concerns the *rights of citizenship*, and this subject is as essentially *national* as the army or the navy.

Even without either of the recent constitutional amendments, I am at a loss to understand how a denial of the elective franchise, simply on account of color, can be otherwise than unconstitutional. I cannot see how, under a National Constitution which does not contain the word "white" or "black," there can be any exclusion on account of color. There is no such exclusion in the Constitution. Out of what text is this oligarchical pretension derived? But, putting aside this question, which will be clearer to the jurists of the next generation than to us, I vouch the authoritative words of the Constitution, making it our duty to guarantee a republican form of government in the States. Now the greatest victory of the war, to which all other victories, whether in Congress or on the bloody field, were only tributary, was the definition of a republican government according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. A government which denies the elective franchise on account of color, or, in other words, sets up any "qualifications" of votes in their nature *insurmountable*, cannot be republican; for the first principle in a republican government is equality of rights, according to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. And this definition, I insist, is the crowning result of that war which beat down the rebellion under its feet. It only remains for Congress to enforce it by appropriate legislation.

But there are two recent constitutional amendments, each of which furnishes ample and cumulative power.

There is, first, the amendment abolishing slavery, with its clause conferring on Congress the power to enforce it by appropriate legislation, in pursuance of which Congress has already passed the *Civil Rights act*, which is applicable to the North as well as the South. Clearly, and most obviously beyond all question, if it can pass a *Civil Rights act*, it can also pass a Political Rights act; for each is appropriate to enforce the abolition of slavery and to complete this work. Without it the work is only *half done.*

There is yet another amendment recently adopted by three-fourths of the loyal States, which is itself an abundant source of power. After declaring that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are "citizens," this amendment proceeds to provide that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of *citizens* of the United States;" and Congress is empowered to enforce this provision by appropriate legislation. Nothing can be plainer than this.

Here, then, are three different fountains of power in the Constitution itself, each sufficient; the three together three times sufficient; each exuberant and overflowing, the three together three times exuberant and overflowing. How, in the face of these provisions, any person can doubt the power of Congress, I cannot understand. But, alas! there are doubters always.

I have already sent you a copy of my bill to settle this question by what I call "the short cut." Give us your vote. Of course, you will. Believe me, my dear sir,

Very faithfully yours,
CHARLES SUMNER.

THEODORE TILTON, Esq.

Yes. Mr. Sumner has our vote. He has always had it; he is always likely to have it. "How did Roger Sherman vote?" asked our forefathers. They believed it was safe to vote with Roger Sherman. It is just as safe to vote with Charles Sumner. During the last fifteen years no American Senator has been so uniformly right, none so conspicuously single-minded, none so stubbornly uncompromising, as the author of this letter. Therefore, let heed be given to what he says.

Long ago we proposed, and at various times since have urged, an amendment to the Federal Constitution establishing equal civil and political rights in all the States—both for whites and blacks; both for North and South. Mr. Sumner, seeking the same end, proposes different means. Instead of an amendment to the Constitution, he urges a law of Congress. "How any person," he says, "can doubt the power of Congress, I cannot understand." Mr. Sumner knows that *we* do not doubt the power of Congress; not at all. Our doubt is, not of its power, but of its courage. Its power is undeniable. Both civil and political rights flow from one and the same fount. If Congress had any power to enact civil, it has equal power to enact political rights. It has, thus far, established civil, but neglected to establish political rights. Mr. Sumner properly asks it to complete its duty by establishing both.

What need, then, of an amendment of the Constitution?

Suppose both civil and political rights to be duly decreed by act of Congress. We shall still ask for the amendment. We cannot help considering that all the rights of American citizens, whether civil or political, are on a stronger foundation when written in plain and direct terms in an amended Constitution, than when, as now, they are inferentially deduced from the more vague statements of the present Constitution by explanatory and supplemental acts of Congress. It is to make assurance doubly sure that we have asked, and shall continue to ask, for such an amendment. Moreover, we do not agree with our distinguished friend that such an amendment could not be triumphantly and speedily adopted. On the contrary, we believe the country is amply ready for it. This opinion we share with Mr. Greeley.

But, whether an amendment is needed, or not—and whether it can be passed, or not—we go heartily for Mr. Sumner's bill. Look at the bill. It is as follows:

"Whereas the Constitution of the United States abolishes slavery everywhere within the jurisdiction thereof, so that all constitutions, laws, or regulations of any State or Territory in aid of slavery, or growing out of the same, are null and void; and whereas the same Constitution, in another provision, recently adopted, declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;" and whereas, also, Congress is empowered by appropriate legislation to enforce these several provisions, which cannot be done without securing the elective franchise to citizens who have been slaves, or who are the descendants of slaves, or who are deprived of equal rights by reason of race or color; and whereas, further, it is expressly declared in the Constitution that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government, and it is plain that any inequality of rights is inconsistent with a republican form of government and the promises of the Declaration of Independence: Now, therefore,

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That every citizen of the United States, although he may have been a slave, or is the descendant of a slave, or by reason of race or color is deprived of equal rights, *shall, in every State and Territory, have the right to vote at all elections for members of Congress, for presidential electors, for Representatives and Senators to State or Territorial Legislatures, for all State, county, city, town, and other offices of every kind, upon the same terms and conditions, and no others, as white citizens are and may be allowed to vote;* and every provision of every State and Territorial Constitution, statute, and ordinance which is now or hereafter may be enacted, and every custom and principle of law heretofore recognized in any State or Territory, contrary to the foregoing provisions, are hereby declared null and void."

Now, whether the above be a constitutional amendment or an act of Congress—or one, or both—it is just, expedient, and indispensable; it is equal in its operation, North as well as South; it provides one and the same beneficent law for the whole land. Shall it be adopted? If we could speak with a hundred tongues, they should all cry amen. The negro now has less law on his side in Connecticut than in Mississippi. Congress, reassembling in July, ought to provide for his immediate relief. There was an outcry against giving the negro his civil rights; but, when the deed was done, the whole land acquiesced. There is a similar outcry against giving him his political rights; but, once given, there will be general approbation of the gift. If negroes who have been brought up in slavery are allowed to vote in the South, why shall not negroes who have been brought up in freedom be allowed to vote in the North?

Not only is Mr. Sumner right as to the power of Congress in the present case, but long ago he was right as to the power of Congress to govern the unreconstructed States as conquered provinces. He then stood almost alone in the Senate in an opinion which he has since seen adopted by his brother Senators. We trust his compeers will agree to his present bill. We happen to know that Thaddeus Stevens—who, even when sick, is more well than most men—is preparing, on his sick bed, an argument in support of Mr. Sumner's plan. We happen to know, also, that Chief-Justice Chase agrees with Mr. Sumner's view. Let the mid-summer Congress adopt the bill as a Fourth of July measure. Its passage will thrill the country. It will hoist flags, pull bell-ropes, light tar-barrels, and fire guns. It will rekindle the glorious enthusiasm which followed Abraham Lincoln's Decree of Emancipation.

"Blow, bugle, blow! set the wild echoes flying!"

ENCOURAGE COLORED MEN.

From the New York Evening Post.

THERE is an element of power in our midst which we have underrated. The colored people have a force and virtues which they have not been credited with. How much has the country lost in intelligence, enterprise and moral force, in not giving proper encouragement to this class of our citizens? We are led to these thoughts by the following facts with others brought to our attention. The colored people of this city are conducting with success a banking institution, in which they are depositing their funds; they have formed and are forming joint-stock associations, purchasing real estate, and otherwise manifesting commendable force and virtues. We attach a communication from our well-known colored citizen, George T. Downing, to which we invite special attention, and ask merchants and others to respond to the same:

"Messrs. Editors: Colored men are to be an inseparable part of the American people. There is no getting rid of them, even if the dominant class were so disposed; and they are to exercise an influence on society which will be more or less favorable, as they are or are not educated, elevated and made to feel a oneness in interest and pride with other Americans. They have much more intelligence and judgment than they have been given credit for; they have proven themselves fitted for, and have filled every position in which they have been placed, with, as it is admitted, surprising credit to themselves and with satisfaction to those in whose interest they were enlisted; view them in peace or on the battle-field, in low or more exalted positions.

"In view of the disadvantages they have had to encounter; the absence in their case of the common incentives exciting others to morality and aspiring aims; of reward for merit; the disposition to detract when even their merits were in question—considering these, is not their moral record astonishing? Who has cause to blush in drawing a comparison? Should not colored men be favorably considered as a reward, as well as for the interest of society? Should they not, for both of these reasons, be encouraged to engage in all honorable and elevating pursuits?

"Generous capitalists frequently advanced capital to start and encourage deserving persons in enterprises needing the same, in which they see prospects of success; but colored men up to the present time have not been thus encouraged; for the reasons, I suppose, of prejudice and a lack of confidence. May, we not hope for a different state of things along with the changed relation of affairs!

"I have been led to write the above by the fact that I have been applied to from the South to establish business relations, wherein are reasonable prospects of success, and would have the confidence and assistance of men of means, of the commercial public.

"If such a movement should be a success, it will not only benefit pecuniarily certain colored men, but have its influence on the elevation of the class. I suggest the above thoughts and facts to those who would encourage honorable efforts on the part of colored men.

"GEORGE T. DOWNING.

"Custom House, New York, April 6, 1867."

GOV. EYRE'S CASE.

From the London Correspondence of the Boston Commonwealth.

LONDON, April 13, 1867.

THE ARRAIGNMENT OF GOV. EYRE'S TOOLS.

THE bells that lately rang out at Market Drayton their jubilance at the refusal of the county magistrates to send ex-Gov. Eyre before a Shropshire grand jury have been suddenly muffled. The grin of *Punch*—nothing less than beastly over the failure of the Jamaica Committee in that case—has suddenly changed to the other side of its face. The masterly charge which the Lord Chief-Justice of England gave on Wednesday last to the grand jury in the case of the bill against Brand and Nelson, Eyre's tools in putting Gordon out of the way by a drum-head court-martial, has entirely altered the conditions of the question, and must settle the position of English law on this subject forever. A large concourse had assembled in the criminal court of the Old Bailey, among which were many of the most distinguished men in England. Earl Granville was seated on the bench, and near by were J. S. Mill and P. A. Taylor, M.P., who, above all others, has been indefatigable in his determination to carry this matter through, and who

DIGITIZED ORIGINAL COPY

has incurred every responsibility. For, were this procedure to fail, Mr. Taylor's large property would be liable to the utmost for damages for a malicious prosecution. The charge of Sir Alexander Cockburn occupied five hours and a half in its delivery, but so full was it of interesting historical research, legal learning and terse argument, that the vast multitude remained absorbed and silent from first to last. I need not say that being an upright judge, his charge was entirely favorable to the purpose of the Jamaica Committee. The charge is of such fundamental and historical interest that it is to be hoped that every word of it may be laid before the American public; for it stated what is American no less than English law on the whole subject of martial law.

THE CHARGE OF CHIEF-JUSTICE COCKBURN.

I must content myself with adducing here the great points that were established. The learned Judge began by stating that there were two kinds of colonies known to English law—crown colonies and settled colonies. The crown colonies were those which had been acquired by conquest, and still retained a foreign population. This foreign population, although amenable to the English crown, were suffered by various reasons to retain their former laws, subject to necessary alterations by the crown. The settled colonies are those which are peopled by Englishmen, who carry with them English laws and no other. He showed by a review of the history of the West Indies that, though those islands were conquered from Spain by the English, the Spaniards all left, and they were undoubtedly settled colonies over which the laws of Great Britain prevailed. He next addressed himself to a consideration of martial law, and found that though it had been exercised with great severity by the monarchs of England, the great judges of England had again and again decided that such proceedings were unconstitutional, and the repeated acts of indemnity which it had always been found necessary to obtain, were confessions of the illegality of such proceedings. Parliament alone had the power of suspending the ordinary forms of civil law in cases of great emergencies; but in all such cases those who exercised such powers were held closely responsible for what they did, and liable for any excess. The arbitrary proclamations of martial law were, after a long struggle with Charles I., finally and forever ended by the petition of right, the supplementary charter of English liberties. Since then there had been great and formidable rebellions in England—as that of Monmouth, in the time of James II., and those of 1715 and 1745—but on neither of these occasions was martial law proclaimed. The Lord Chief-Justice then inquired into the history of the idea of martial law and found that it was based on the regulations that were made in early times for the control of soldiers and camps, and was at no time applicable to civilians. It was impossible always to bring the ordinary machinery of the civil law to bear when soldiers were on a march, at sea, and in foreign countries. But even in the case of this military law there were always rules laid down by which responsible persons should sit upon and administer the law in every case, and the civil rules of receiving evidence were binding. He then proceeded to show that Gordon, being a civilian, and residing in an unproclaimed district, was not subject to martial law, even supposing that a Jamaica Governor had the right to proclaim it (which without an act of Parliament he had not). He then showed that Brand and Nelson had no authority to be on a court-martial, and that the tribunal which condemned Gordon was in every way illegal. And, finally, he showed that the evidence against Gordon was such as would have been scouted out of any court of law, and, in fact, showed plainly that he had not, in intention or act, had any complicity with the insurrection for fostering which he was sentenced and hanged.

THE MANNER OF THE CHARGE.

The whole tone and manner of the Chief-Justice in delivering this opinion were grandly impressive. There was a mild thunder in his voice when he said—"I suppose there is no place where the fearful curse attached to slavery—visiting both master and slave—has been so illustrated as in Jamaica. There is not a stone in that island which, if the rains of heaven have not washed it clean, would not bear witness to the mischiefs and calamities attending martial law."

THE INDICTMENT REJECTED.

Incredible as it may seem, the grand jury threw out both the bills. During the whole of this magnificent charge they were probably thinking of dinners getting cold; and it is plain that they had not comprehended a single word of it, for, in presenting the bills against Brand and Nelson as "not found," they made a presentment "that martial law should be more clearly defined by legislative enactment,"—a presentment which the Judge with a quiet smile put into his pocket as a text for many subsequent reflections on the value of the system of grand juries. After an opinion from the Lord Chief-Justice which was exciting the admiration of all England—an opinion which tore martial law to pieces—these wise fellows present that it should be more clearly defined! There is a text for Matthew Arnold's next article on his countrymen.

EYRE NOT YET RELIEVED.

Immediately upon hearing that their bills had been thrown out, the Jamaica Committee had a meeting and resolved at once to prosecute Gov. Eyre for gross misdemeanor, under the colonial governors' act. The opinion of Lord Cockburn bore heavily upon ex-Gov. Eyre, who, after all, is the real criminal in the case. Brand and Nelson are brutal enough, but very weak, and mere tools of Eyre. Mr. Mill and Mr. Taylor will still represent the prosecution. There is some talk of a change of counsel; for though Mr. Fitzjames Stephen is a man of great ability, and began well in conducting the case, he failed entirely as he went on to fairly represent the prosecutors, and talked some nonsense about the "gallantry," and so forth, of a man whom those he represented believe to be a murderer. He has certainly damaged the case very much.

MAJOR GEORGE L. STEARNS.

From the Hannibal (Mo.) Daily Courier.

SALEM, Mass., April 12, 1867.

DEAR EDITOR: No one can understand better than you the feelings with which I have to-day attended the funeral of our revered and dearly loved friend, Major Stearns. A strong desire was expressed that the funeral should be public, held in a church in Medford, in order that a greater number might have an opportunity of expressing their esteem and sorrow. But the bereaved family shrank from this publicity, and decided that the obsequies should be of the simplest character, and in their own house. The Rev. Mr. Town, of Medford, first read passages of Scripture, happily selected, and arranged so as to express the principles and character of the deceased. An appropriate prayer was then offered by Rev. Samuel Longfellow, brother of the poet.

Fitting tributes, simple but very expressive, were then rendered to the extraordinary worth of our friend by the sage, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the jurist, Prof. Parsons of Cambridge. They spoke especially of the excellencies of his personal character, "which was," said Mr. Parsons, "as transparent as crystal." Mr. Emerson instanced, as among his most striking characteristics, his singleness of heart, his modesty of self-assertion, and his remarkable freedom from pride of opinion. His wonderful profuseness of giving to benevolent objects differed, he said, in this respect, from the bounty of many. They gave of their money as an expiation for not giving personal service to a good cause, but he simply as an expression of the entireness with which he consecrated all he was and all he had to country and humanity. Mr. Parsons said that in one trait he stood pre-eminent—the marvelous union of energy and enthusiasm with a total absence of personal ambition. He had shown that it was possible for one to devote himself to the public welfare with an impelling motive free from all taint of selfishness.

After a benediction by Mr. Town, the remains were attended by immediate friends to their final resting-place amid the beautiful shades of Mount Auburn. Among those present at the funeral rites, I noticed the philanthropist, William Lloyd Garrison, George Thompson, F. W. Bird, Frank Sanborn, Edward Atkinson, Prof. Marshall, etc.

So our friend's work on earth is ended. But *what a glorious work it has been!* And he was permitted to live to see the triumph of the cause to which he gave so much of time, thought, toil and treasure, to which, it would seem, he yielded life itself. He might say with the aged Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared *before the face of all people.*"

Remarkable as he was for his philanthropic enthusiasm, he was not less remarkable for a quality in which enthusiasts are wont to be deficient—sagacity in discerning the signs of the times, and in perceiving and conceiving the practical measures required to meet great public exigencies. He anticipated most men in recognizing the vital importance to the country of the Kansas struggle. During the late war, he was among the first to see that the admission of the blacks to a participation in the contest was indispensable to its right termination. After the conclusion of the war, he had a prophetic insight into the demands of the crisis, and the proper principles and methods of just and safe reconstruction. I would not limit the power of Providence. But, where the forces of right and wrong were so equally balanced, and victory at last was so hardly won, I cannot see how, in these three great emergencies of the nation, the right could have prevailed, at least without much greater delay and suffering, if the powerful influences which he exercised and stimulated had been withheld. Among the saviours of the nation in this long and multiform conflict through which it has passed, a high place must be awarded to the name of George L. Stearns. C.

IN MEMORIAM.

From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

MAJ. GEORGE L. STEARNS, whose sudden death has been briefly announced, was a man whose loss outweighs that of many persons far more conspicuous. He was a sincere, devoted friend, of liberal ideas, zealously earnest in his efforts to promote their advancement, and singularly skilful and successful in accomplishing his ends.

Purse and brain were through the war alike devoted to the national cause. He raised the first regiment of negro troops for the United States service—the 54th Massachusetts. He was likewise at the head of the work for recruiting the next—the 55th Massachusetts. His signal success led to his employment on a larger scale. The government made him "Commissioner for recruiting negro troops," and sent him to Philadelphia. Under his auspices the Pennsylvania negro regiments were raised, and the school for training officers for negro troops was placed in successful operation. This work accomplished, he was sent to Nashville, where, under his sagacious management, the army soon began to be swelled by the constantly increasing accessions from the race whose redemption the war was working.

Here he had no more efficient ally, apparently no sincerer friend, than Andrew Johnson, the Military Governor of Tennessee. It was not strange, therefore, that he was slow to believe in the defection of this old associate. But he thus rendered no less efficient service to the cause; for his well-known report of his last interview with the acting President, indorsed by Mr. Johnson himself as strictly accurate, remains to this hour one of the most thorough and damning exposures of the treachery which has so long delayed the work of reorganization and paralyzed the bleeding South.

His last days were spent in liberal contribution to the defeat of this treachery. Out of his own private means he published and distributed gratuitously, through the regions where it was most likely to be effective, a spirited weekly paper, the "*Right Way.*" Something over sixty thousand copies of a single issue were thus circulated. He was the projector and principal supporter, during the years that elapsed before it reached a paying basis, of the Boston *Commonwealth*. He was ever ready with liberal contributions to aid the party of freedom in every stirring campaign. Before the war he had been the truest friend and most efficient supporter of John Brown; to the end he continued to spend, never less and often much more than half his annual income of fifty thousand dollars, in efforts to promote the triumph of equal rights for all.

These are works which do not shine largely in the newspapers, and do not arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. But now that he has gone, we commit no impropriety in naming them; and we utter no exaggeration in adding that, modest and unobtrusive as was the man, Massachusetts has lost in him one of the sons whose fruitful lives are her highest honor.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1867.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, at the Meionian, on Wednesday, May 29th, at 10 o'clock, a. m. The speakers engaged are Messrs. WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES L. REMOND, AARON M. POWELL, PARKER PILLSBURY, WM. WELLS BROWN, COL. T. W. HIGGINSON, REV. MR. CONNOR, and others, to be hereafter announced.

The friends of this Convention and of Human Rights feel that there are greater motives than ever to increased effort and earnest pleading on account of the complicated condition of our national affairs and the still holding in suspense of the Rights of the colored race.

By order of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. JOHN T. SARGENT, Pres.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Rec. Sec.

GUIDE-BOARDS.

WE are in danger of losing ourselves in a multitude of details. The operative who stands by the spindle cannot be expected to take in the whole purpose of the Company whose web he weaves. Our effort should be to comprehend the great drift and underlying necessities of the national cause. For this we must bear ever in mind three or four leading principles:

1. The present condition of affairs, one-half the nation ruling the other despotically, should be changed as soon as may be, consistently with national safety. Safety is the first object; after that, republican order.

2. One-half the whites of the South are still rebels in heart and purpose, and these men have been the leaders in their States. Those States are never to be readmitted until that class of men is effectually and finally bound, hand and foot, by the orderly and peaceful exercise of political rights on the part of the rest of the whites, and of the negroes; by the diffusion of education, the presence of capital, and the division of large landed estates, setting in motion the energies of the whole people. When the elements which give character to the nineteenth century—ideas, capital, equal manhood, and land in the hands of the masses—have penetrated the hot-house of Southern caste, we may safely leave them to fight their own way and keep all they conquer.

3. It is not enough for national security to say that the influence of President Johnson has been crippled. That is "scotching the snake, not killing it." The acting President of these United States must always, while he holds office, wield immense influence. It is cool impertinence in party journals and party leaders to talk to us of the crippling of that officer's influence who has openly bought up so many leading Senators that the rest are almost powerless to check his usurpation. A Senate which could be bought to confirm Johnson's commission of Rousseau had better inquire who cripples its action than boast of crippling the influence of its tempter.

National self-respect, security from such knavishness in office hereafter, and the safe use of Executive patronage for the next two years demand the removal of Johnson. Whoever leaves a stone unturned to effect the removal of Johnson and the condign punishment of Jefferson Davis is doing all that in him lies to encourage and render easy another rebellion; and the blood shed in it will rest on his conscience. Amid the general joy over our victory we are forgetting moral distinctions and personal responsibilities. No one now wishes to bear hard on the sinners in times past; but it may be necessary to refer to them in order to point the moral of present times. The Clay and Webster Whigs, and the church-members of the New York *Observer* and American Tract Society class are guilty, above all others, for the blood shed in this war. It is their selfish party spirit, their sectarian and Christless narrowness and infidelity which have robbed the widow of her husband, the mother of her son, and loaded the industry of the land with cruel and bitter taxes. Although God's thunderbolts have humbled them into silence and possibly converted some of them into repentance, that does not change the facts of history or blot out the foul record of their previous guilt.

In the same sense we wish to put on record our affirmation that the trimmers and hucksters of to-day, the universal amnesty men, the blotters-out of all moral distinctions, who counsel a new order of things in which knaves and honest men shall stand just equal; all these milk-and-water statesmen are to be reminded that this is not a game of jackstraws but a war—and when the next Lee thinks of breaking his hundred oaths, and the next Davis thinks of another Andersonville, they—the sugared go-betweens—are furnishing the incipient traitors with motives to go forward by letting them look back and see that the Lee and the Davis of our day not only went unhung but in some sense honored for their villany.

4. We are to remember that the fate of the colored race hangs yet in the balance. For this generation, at least, their welfare or their cruel oppression will be decided by the election of 1868. Put Grant, either of the Shermans, Fessenden, or any huckstering Senator into the White House and half of the men who gave their lives in the long five years' march to Richmond will have died in vain. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held on Tuesday, the 7th inst., at Steinway Hall, in this city. The attendance was more numerous than for several years past, including a large representation of the early Abolitionists from different parts of the country. Addresses were delivered by Wendell Phillips, Col. T. W. Higginson, Hon. Thomas J. Durant, Anna E. Dickinson, Rev. Samuel J. May, Rev. John W. Chadwick, William Wells Brown, and others. For genuine eloquence, radical fidelity, and comprehensiveness, it has never been surpassed by any of the former meetings of the Society. A full report of the proceedings will appear in the next and subsequent issues of THE STANDARD. The Business Meeting is in progress as we write (Wednesday). We present herewith the resolutions which were under consideration on Tuesday:

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That we devoutly thank God that we meet at last in the midst of a nation thoroughly in earnest in its purpose to found its institutions on the corner-stone of absolute justice, and already far advanced in the accomplishment of its purpose.

2. Resolved, That we regard the oaths of Southern white men and the provisions of Southern State Constitutions as altogether too slight and uncertain a guarantee for the civil and political rights of the negro, and, in view of the past history of State legislation, we consider the negro as in imminent danger, if defended by nothing else, of cruel oppression and the practical denial of his most vital rights.

3. Resolved, That, in our judgment, the course of the XXXIXth and XLth Congresses betrays too clearly that our danger lies in the resumption by its members of the old corrupt practices, the bargain and trading of ordinary politics, to which the enthusiasm of the war years put, for a time, a stop; and in all the recent inaction of Congress on important questions, we see evidence that the members were bartering duty and national security for party supremacy and personal aggrandizement.

4. Resolved, That, in our judgment, the legal guarantee of the negro's freedom and equality should be a provision in the Federal Constitution forbidding any State to debar him from civil and political rights, and the substantial security is his actual possession and use of all those rights under the protection of the police power of the Union.

5. Resolved, That, in view of the fact that the rebellion was possible because of the ignorance of the poorer classes at the South—ignorant men used in their blindness by selfish leaders—and in view of the further fact that, once re-admitted to the Union, the vote of these ignorant masses is to decide great national questions and interests, it is the right and duty of the government to secure general education throughout the Union; and hence, whenever a State refuses or neglects to establish and maintain common schools, the Federal Constitution should authorize and order Congress to establish them within such State at its expense.

6. Resolved, That the Nation owes it to self-respect, to justice, to future security, and to the present safety of the race redeemed by so much blood and treasure, to impeach and remove the traitor of the White House at once; and every hour Congress delays that action, insults the nation, disgraces its law, jeopards its future, delays justice, and makes more and more innocent blood cry to God against us.

7. Resolved, That we urge on all friends of freedom to keep vigilant and ceaseless watch on the Supreme Court and the present efforts of rebels to make use of it in order to block the wheels of government.

8. Resolved, That we warn our lately-freed fellow-citizens of the South that all the offered friendship and political co-operation of Southern white men is a snare intended only to make them the tools of their own ruin, and we exhort them to trust to that same instinctive sagacity which guided them so wisely through the war—trusting no one blindly, but jealously guarding their own rights by the independent exercise of their power.

9. Resolved, That the next Presidential election will be the most momentous one ever made on this continent, and it behooves us all to see that we do not drift into incompetent or unfriendly hands through heedless hero-worship and blind party spirit, since we must put thorough loyalty, ripe statesmanship and decided purpose at the helm or we lose half the fruits of this terrible conflict.

10. Resolved, That, in our judgment, the people are true and sound, thoroughly in earnest and determined to leave no root or fibre of this intolerable system which has poisoned our internal life for a century, and if this epoch closes without the full accomplishment of their purpose, it will be the fault of selfish leaders, willing to sacrifice principle and justice for their own advancement.

11. Resolved, That, if Gov. Eyre goes unwhipped of justice, it will be another proof that the same pro-slavery spirit rules England to-day which, a few years ago, covered the Confederate pirates with English protection, and only from lack of courage forbore to put its flag side by side with that of the rebellion; and we shall expect nothing better of that nation until its malignant aristocracy is crushed, as ours has been, in the strong grasp of a sovereign people.

12. Resolved, That the hour—its imminent peril and its grand opportunity—summons all true men to the most devoted, earnest and untiring efforts to reap the full harvest of this war, putting away every remnant of old abuse and oppression, and found our hereafter on justice and equality and the full recognition of human brotherhood.

WE invite the attention of our readers in this city to the notice in another column of a meeting to be held at Argus Hall, 600 Broadway, on Thursday evening next, under the auspices of the Union League of America. It is held with special reference to the forthcoming Constitutional Convention, and we trust will be largely attended.

REV. DR. CHEEVER will preach the anniversary sermon before the Church Anti-Slavery Society at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, on Sunday evening next.

PERSONAL.

Rev. Dr. David Livingstone, whose death is now confirmed, was born at Blantyre, upon the banks of the Clyde, near Glasgow, in 1817. As a youth he earned his livelihood in the cotton mills of Blantyre, but by hard labor he was enabled to pursue, during the Winter months, his studies at Glasgow. As he grew up he resolved to devote himself to the life of a missionary, hoping that Africa or China would be the scene of his labors. After studying medicine and theology, he offered his services, in 1838, to the London Missionary Society, and was accepted. He reached the shores of Africa in the Summer of 1840. For sixteen years (1840-'56) he labored at various stations in South Africa. In 1855, the Royal Geographical Society of England conferred upon him the Victoria or Patron's gold medal. In the same year Dr. Livingstone successfully made a journey across Southern Africa. He visited England in 1856, and met with a magnificent reception. In 1858, he went to Africa, and continued his geographical explorations.

The Rev S. H. Morse gave the tenth of the course of Radical Lectures on Religion upon the subject of "the Democratic Principle in Religion." He said:

"The passing days introduce to us a variety of topics, but only one thing, after all, gets more written or spoken about. The sum of the whole is a declaration of the worth of man. A new interest is added in recent years by the partial conviction that human nature is yet in process of birth. The sad story of a catastrophe at the start falls into discredit. There has been no degeneracy. We are worth as much to-day as ever we were. Our Adam never fell but in the right direction—up instead of down. He began at the foot; experience leading him up to moral Sinais. As nature made not the oak, full-statured, bearing acorns, so we deny the theory of nature in commencing with perfectly-developed human beings. God never did more for man than to furnish material and capacity. The first Adam and the last Adam are walking the streets before our eyes to-day.

"It is safe to affirm more of human nature than has yet been manifested. We predict steady moral growth and expansion of intellect. The rule is from less to greater, from unintelligence to intelligence. The growing faculty to perceive the meanings of life and the delight thereby awakened, is the normal condition of the truly-liberated soul. Knowledge, freedom, happiness, construct our heaven. Our imaginative Irish girl used to describe the heaven to which she was going if she did not lose her soul. It is the dream shared by the majority of Christian people—golden pavements, golden everything. But I think we shall never discover a heaven already prepared for us. To build its own house is the prerogative human nature is endowed with. I never expect to see a fairer world than this. The trouble is that, having eyes, we see not. The kingdom of heaven can be located almost anywhere. Heaven is at the point of time or place where you stand in true obedience. Here, and now, and with thanksgiving, we celebrate the worth of man."

Gen. Fabro Geffrard, who a few weeks since abdicated the Presidency of Hayti and fled to Jamaica, is a native of that country (Hayti), and was born on September 19, 1806. His father was Gen. Nicholas Geffrard, one of the founders of Haytian independence. He became a soldier at the early age of 15, and, after serving in the ranks, passed rapidly through several grades of promotion until he attained a captaincy. In 1843, when Gen. Herard took up arms against President Boyer, he chose Geffrard for his lieutenant, who, by his skill and bravery, contributed largely to the success of the revolutionary army. As a reward for his valuable services he received from the new government the brevet rank of general of brigade, and was commandant of Jacmel, and in 1845 he was named general of division. In 1849 he was appointed by Soulouque to take command of his Haytian army sent against the Dominicans, and in 1856 it fell to his lot, by the display of rare military talents, to repair in some measure the disasters attending the invasion of St. Domingo by the Haytian army, led by the Emperor himself. Shortly after, Soulouque, moved thereto, doubtless, by jealousy of Geffrard's well-earned fame, disgraced him; but the Emperor paid dearly for this, for in December, 1858, Geffrard declared against him, and in January, 1859, Soulouque was overthrown, with his mock Empire, and Geffrard proclaimed President of the Republic, which was restored. He at once set himself vigorously to work to remedy the numerous evils which had grown up under the administration of his ignorant, narrow-minded and cruel predecessor, and became exceedingly popular. He established numerous schools in all parts of the Republic, and gave every encouragement to agricultural and industrial enterprise generally. In 1861, he concluded a concordat with the Pope, creating Hayti an Archbishopric. Humane in his disposition, enlightened and liberal in his views, and a steady friend of progress, his rule, at one time, promised to be a long and prosperous one; but latterly, it would seem, there has been much discontent with the administration of affairs, especially in financial matters, and his political opponents, skilfully fomenting disaffection, have succeeded in driving him from power and from the country.

OBITUARY.

THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, widow of Joseph Southwick, died on the 29th of April, at her residence in Grantville, Mass., in the 75th year of her age.

All survivors of the old Abolition band will remember her as one of the very earliest, the noblest, and the most faithful of that small army of moral combatants who fought so bravely and perseveringly for the deliverance of the downtrodden. Mrs. Southwick was born and educated in the Society of Friends, and to their calmness of demeanor she added their indomitable persistance in the path of duty.

One of the most exciting affairs that ever occurred in Boston was known as the Baltimore Slave Case. Two girls had escaped in a Boston vessel, and when about to be carried back, were brought out by a writ of *habeas corpus*. All Boston was in a ferment, for and against the fugitives. The commercial world were determined that this Southern property should be restored to the white claimants, and the Abolitionists were determined that it should remain in the possession of the original owners, until a "bill of sale from the Almighty" could be produced. The well-known "Father Snowdon" was then alive, and by his vigilance and ingenious arrangements, efficiently aided by Mrs. Southwick, the slaves were, at a given signal, spirited away from the crowded court-room, and conveyed out of the city. The agent of the slaveholders happened to be standing near Mrs. Southwick, and while he was gazing in astonishment at the empty space where the fugitives had been an instant before, she turned her large gray eyes upon him, and said very calmly, "Thy prey hath escaped thee."

Wherever working or thinking was to be done for the advancement of our righteous cause, there was Thankful Southwick, ever ready with wise counsel and energetic action. She and her excellent husband were among the very first to sustain Garrison in his unequal contest with the strong Goliath of slavery. At that time they were in affluent circumstances, and their money was poured forth freely for the unpopular cause, which had as yet found no adherents among the rich. Their commodious and every-way comfortable house was a caravansary for fugitive slaves and for Anti-Slavery pilgrims from all parts of the country. At the Anniversary Meetings, when most of the city Abolitionists were anxious to have for their guests Friend Whittier, or Angelina Grimke, or Theodore Weld, or Hon. Mr. Birney, or George Thompson, or some other lions of the cause, Joseph and Thankful Southwick were quietly looking about for such Anti-Slavery brothers and sisters as were too little known to be likely to receive invitations. And through all their long and honorable lives this worthy couple retained the same characteristics. Always kindly and unpretending, clear-sighted to perceive the right, and faithful in following it, wheresoever it might lead. They were upright in all their dealings with the world, tender and true in the relations of private life, and the memory they have left is a benediction. L. M. C.

DIED, at Salem, Mass., Monday, March 18th, 1867, MRS. NANCY LENOX, wife of John Remond, 79 years.

With her, passed away one of the purest and most unselfish spirits which the world has ever seen. Having lived in her family for many years, I would fain offer a slight tribute to one who, during those fleeting years, showered upon me, as upon all, every kindness and attention in her power. There were none who came in contact with her but experienced some proof of her overflowing generosity and goodness of heart. Her house was always open to receive the friends of freedom, and I am sure that there are many who have pleasant remembrances of her bountiful hospitality. The hunted slave, fleeing from his stripes and toil, has often rested at her home, and started anew and refreshed, towards that beacon of his hopes, the British provinces. She was an earnest Christian, and her only regret at leaving the world, was, that all her family were not about her bed, that she might bid them adieu. Some of them, myself among the number, are unfortunately in a foreign land, but speaking for them all, I give this feeble tribute to her memory. Our only consolation is, that she is now enjoying her reward in a land where sorrows are unknown and where only peace and happiness truly reign. A GRANDSON.

Paris, April 15th, 1867.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 6, 1867.

THE Supreme Court is still listening to the "weary lawyers with endless tongues," who are trying to prove that it should assume the whole political power of the government, and prevent the execution of the Military Reconstruction bill in the South. Attorney-Gen. Stanberry's argument to dismiss the bill puts the whole case so clearly as to leave nothing further to be said, and the arguments of O'Conor and Walker, though ingenious, fail to meet the insurmountable objection that what they pray for would essentially change our form of government, and concentrate all its power worth having in the hands of a non-elective Judiciary.

It is not probable that the Court will do otherwise than dismiss the Bill of Injunction, unless it is willing to ignore all its precedents in the interest of rebels. It is possible that one or two of the judges, purblind with age and pro-rebel prejudice, may dissent from the prevailing opinion of the Court, but that is of no consequence.

The position of Att.-Gen. Stanberry in so decidedly opposing this last movement of rebellion, leads many to believe that the Administration honestly intends to execute the Military bill. It should be remembered that Mr. Stanberry avowed his entire agreement with the principles of his opponents, while dissenting from their law. There is a better and craftier way to balk the purpose of the North than by a Judicial usurpation which would annul the Executive branch equally with the Legislative. The execution of this law is in the hands of an unprincipled and traitorous President, and although the preliminaries may be arranged with seeming faithfulness, there is no reason for believing that any effort will be spared to make the law a failure. Some of the Generals detailed to execute it are mere tools of Johnson. Gen. Ord's order No 5, directing the blacks not to meddle with politics, betrays his animus. Other Generals who honestly mean to execute the will of Congress, will either become tools of the Executive, or be removed. Sheridan is already in trouble because of his removal of rebel officers, and the infamous Mayor Monroe is in the city, pleading his wrongs to sympathetic ears at the White House. Grant's position is worse than equivocal.

The expected decision of the Attorney-General in regard to the interpretation to be put upon the disfranchising clauses, is awaited with great interest. What treason that conclave of conspirators, called the Cabinet, is now hatching, I know not, but it is not probable that any decided action against the Military bill will be taken until the Fourth of July, when, if Congress does not meet, there will be a fair field for treason until December.

The game played for a month past, and to be kept up for a month or two to come, is not to alarm the people by any positive action and thereby cause a meeting of Congress, but to lull them into fancied security and belief that all is going on well. The whole action before the Supreme Court is a part of this well-played game. Those who watch closely, however, are not deceived. The man who places any trust whatever in Andrew Johnson or his minions, manifests a weakness of character and a stupidity of mind almost beyond belief.

The trial of John H. Surratt, the assassination conspirator, is set down for this month. Some persons do not believe that it will take place at all, but I think it hardly possible that it can be avoided. The trial promises some interesting developments. Ben Butler, the ablest criminal lawyer in America, is examining the evidence, and possibly may appear in court as counsel for Surratt. There is a belief gaining ground that Mrs. Surratt was convicted on insufficient evidence—evidence that would not have convicted her in a civil court. The original design of the conspirators was the abduction of Lincoln, and that she had knowledge of this is beyond a doubt; but that she ever consented to the assassination was not proven. How far she and her son were implicated in that bloody deed, will appear on the trial, and the evidence will be well sifted by some of the ablest lawyers in the country.

We have again the periodical talk relative to the trial of Jefferson Davis. Whether any trial will be given him, is very doubtful. The enigmatic position of the Administration, and Judge Chase's refusal to preside over a court in Virginia, combine to make all speculation on this subject extremely uncertain. It is not unlikely that he will be pardoned some fine morning and told to go about his business. Judge Underwood has, however, issued his writ of *habeas corpus* on Gen. Burton, and if the body is produced, will proceed to trial at Richmond this month or next. It is interesting to know that Judge Underwood has on his panel nineteen white and five colored jurors. If Jefferson Davis is to be arraigned in a civil court, I hope these five colored men will sit on the panel that tries him. It would be poetic, as well as historic justice, that the race, for the sake of whose perpetual bondage he committed his gigantic crimes, should finally sit in judgment upon him and his deeds.

The letter of Thaddeus Stevens to Henry Wilson was well-timed. The stern, uncompromising old statesman lifts his warning finger to a trimmer like Wilson, and tells him that it is not his place to peddle out magnanimity. The rebuke is deserved. There is such a thing as *justice* as well as magnanimity to a fallen but malignant foe, and the South has not yet had enough of the former to make her feel any respect for the rights of loyalists, black or white. When she shows any signs of genuine repentance, it will be time to talk of magnanimity. The friendly interview between Wilson and Davis at Fortress Monroe is another indication of Wilson's magnanimous character. What right had he, a Senator from Massachusetts, and as such, an accredited representative of the loyal North, to have a friendly interview with Davis?

We are told that they had a pleasant conversation about old times in the Senate. Is this some law-suit in which we have been engaged, where, after it is over, the opposing counsel meet round the social board in all the bonds of fellowship—or was it a bloody war with a hecatomb of lives offered up to the Moloch of slavery? Is Jefferson Davis some defeated Kossuth or baffled Mazzini, or is he the cruel and malignant chieftain of the worst cause ever championed among men? Let Andersonville, Libby, Salisbury and Fort Pillow answer!

Self-respect should have taught Wilson that with such a man he could hold no relations, but if that instinct was dumb, he should have respected the people whose representative he is, and held no friendly interview with so black a traitor.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, May 6th, 1867.

MR. CONWAY'S English letter in last week's *Commonwealth* tells us of an unexpected and wonderful step of progress in the Women's cause in England. The subject of suffrage for women was brought forward in the House of Commons, April 11th, by a petition from Edinburgh, presented by Mr. Duncan Maclaren, the member for that city, and signed by eight University Professors, six Doctors of Law, eighteen Clergymen, eight Barristers, ten Physicians, ten officers in the Army and Navy, and two thousand other persons. At the same time, a still more numerously signed petition to the same effect came from another city. The astonishing advance of public sentiment indicated by this array of names and numbers accounts for the fact that, for the first time, the announcement of that subject in that place passed without a laugh. A speech of John Stuart Mill in its favor, had a very attentive hearing, and it is understood that he is to bring up the subject after Easter in connection with the present Reform bill. Beyond all question, now is the time when those women who are agreed in *wishing* for their rights—a small minority, I fear—should openly speak for them, demand them, make every effort to attain them. Possibly the next coming years may witness another item in the list of resemblances wittily drawn up by Mrs. Child, between women and negroes—their attainment of the franchise together.

It is to be hoped that the process of political reconstruction may give us an improvement we very much need, the abolition of distinctions of color in the laws of those *Northern* States which still preserve that shameful mark of our old complicity with slavery. If the North would only do its duty in this matter, and freely offer the establishment of a change at home corresponding to that which we require of the South, half the sting of that requisition would be taken away. If we could but accompany the enactment of freedom with an enactment of justice—if we could but have a practical assertion and establishment of human rights for all our citizens embodied in the national Constitution and Code—then one might feel a vivid and unalloyed delight in the fact of being an American citizen. If Mr. Sumner's movement to this effect shall not be actively supported and carried, it will be an added proof of the shameful lukewarmness of the Republican party.

Moreover, such voluntary and radical change on our part is the only way to secure against relapse those reformatory measures which the Southern people are now establishing under compulsion, and which their leaders, the old oligarchy of the slave system, are hoping to repeal and nullify when they get the administration of State power again into their hands. Our certainty that such *are* the intention and expectation of Alexander Stephens, Gov. Orr, Wade Hampton and the rest of that class, abates the satisfaction of hearing such recent facts as that the directors of the street car companies in Charleston, S. C., have decided to admit all classes of citizens into their cars, without distinction of color—and that Gov. Pierpont, of Virginia, has appointed John Oliver, a mulatto, a Notary Public for Richmond city and Henrico county, the first colored person ever appointed to that office in Virginia. We know that they do these things unwillingly, and only as the indispensable means to a greatly desired end. If when their reconstruction is completed, we also shall be reconstructed to the extent of ignoring color in the allotment of rights, in vain would they attempt a restoration of *caste*, or of any of the regulations or customs supporting it. Let us make a clean sweep of the word "white" from *our* statute-books, both State and National, and then we can more effectively insist on the permanence of reformatory measures in the States reclaimed from rebellion.

The experiment of Unitarian preaching on Sunday evenings in the Boston Theatre continues decidedly successful. The house has been filled, I believe, on each of the half-dozen evenings since the beginning of the course; but last evening, so great was the popular desire to hear Rev. Robert Collyer, the eloquent preacher from Chicago, that the building was crammed, from top to bottom, three-quarters of an hour before the time appointed for the services, and hundreds more vainly sought admittance. Mr. Collyer is to preach again next Sunday evening. Many on that occasion will find it difficult to decide whether to go to hear him or Ralph Waldo Emerson, who is to give the fifteenth of the course of "Radical Lectures on Religion," in the Parker Fraternity Hall, the same evening.

NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 28, 1867.

I HAVE watched with great interest the practical working of the law that forbids the exclusion of colored people from our street cars. Daily I notice blacks and whites sitting side by side therein, riding peacefully and harmoniously together, giving no visible evidence of the absurd fantasy of distinction, and no apparent indication of the foolish feeling of prejudice. The whites tolerate the blacks, and the blacks tolerate the whites with equal resignation. Neither the thought of asking forgiveness for the long-continued sin of proscription on the one hand, nor of withholding forgiveness for wrongs endured on the other, seems to have an existence. On the part of both there appears to be a forgetfulness of the cruelty and injustice, the villany and inhumanity of the past, and it is even doubtful whether the late white persecutors are ever conscious of a feeling of mortification consequent upon their flagrant tyranny.

Considering the amicable state of the case, one marvels how it was possible for the wretched spirit of persecution ever to prevail. You might suppose that prejudice and persecution had suddenly melted away, like any other baseless fabrics and sentimental shams. The good law has restored our bad people to common sense and common humanity. Especially is this noticeable on the part of the once brutal conductors and ill-bred drivers. They doubtless have their emphatic instructions, and these are obeyed with conspicuous care. They are obsequious now where before they were abusive, and instead of behaving like rough and savage bears, they are as gentle in their conduct now as doves. Their fear of the law leads them to act so as to be free from all suspicion of violating its provisions. But one such case of violation has occurred, and the offender is held in the unmerciful grasp of the law. They do not wish to multiply the instances. Hence they are more scrupulous in their action towards colored than towards white people, for there is no law to punish them for excluding the latter. I have seen a car stop at a crossing and wait for a colored woman who was half a square off, slowly walking in the direction of the car, but giving no evidence whatever that she wanted to ride. Both the driver and conductor gesticulated in the usual way, eager to know whether it was the desire of the approaching "master of the situation" to ride. They kept the car waiting till assured beyond a doubt of the colored woman's purpose, who signified by a shake of the head that they would be deprived of her company. They started off at last, leaving her to enjoy an irrepressible giggle of satisfaction. The scene was interesting in its ludicrousness.

Now and then the colored people encounter the spirit of ill-mannered hostility, and in every case that has come to my knowledge the offenders have been well-dressed females. A few days ago one of this class was about to enter a car, when she observed a colored woman seated within, peacefully enjoying her right to ride. The white woman may have been the wife or daughter of one of those refined Christian squires that "do not wish their wives and daughters to ride with colored people." This well-dressed white woman immediately assumed a terribly dignified air. She became innocent of amiability; churlishness swept over her countenance; scorn coiled itself up in her lips, and out of her mouth proceeded the polished ejaculation—"I cannot go in where that nigger is." "Madam," said the conductor, to whom this was addressed, "you must either take a seat in the car or get off; you are filling up the passage-way." But the indignant woman chose to stand in the door-way, and the conductor stopped the car, insisting that she must either take a seat or leave. She preferred to have her own way. At this point a g

ment is republican in form which disgraces itself by retaining the word 'white' in its Constitution."

W.

LETTERS FROM COL. C. E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

On Saturday last, at 9 o'clock in the evening, the Senate adjourned *sine die*. Over that event the people of America have reason to heartily rejoice. It closed the most disgraceful scramble for office ever witnessed in any country. Until the passage of the Tenure of Office bill by the XXXIXth Congress, pretty much all the intrigue and corruption of office-hunting was confined to the obtaining of nominations at the hands of the Executive. Since the 2d of March last, the date of the passage of that bill over the veto of the President, it has extended the field of its labors to the Senate Chamber. The result is, corruption and intrigue have increased four-fold; and during the recent extraordinary session of the Senate, scenes of disgraceful conduct have been publicly exhibited, that most people believed impossible in the American Republic. A man applies to the President for an appointment, and finds forty-nine other persons diligently seeking the same position. He finally succeeds in procuring the nomination. The remaining forty-nine applicants immediately proceed to the Senate Chamber, and bring every species of influence to bear upon that body to secure a rejection. During the recent extraordinary session, I have seen as many as three hundred persons standing for hours about the doorways and passages to the Senate Chamber, sending in cards and notes to grave Senators, and setting in motion all the machinery of influencing that body in favor of or against the confirmation of some nominee for official position. Even female beauty has often been brought into requisition, and many a candidate owes his confirmation to the seductive entreaties of pretty women.

Conceived in political cowardice and brought forth in a fear of promptly answering the expectations of the people, by removing a bad Executive, the Tenure of Office bill bids fair to yield a bounteous harvest of political treachery, fawning toadyism and corruption in the future. If the disreputable scenes of the past four weeks are the legitimate fruits of the first month and a half of its existence, what may we not expect from it when corruption and intrigue shall have had time to organize into a system, as they assuredly will do hereafter?

The sooner that bill is repealed the better for the honor of American Republicanism. All attempts on the part of Republican leaders to evade an honest discharge of the duty of ridding the nation of a treacherous President, by degrading and crippling the Presidential office, will only be fruitful of mischief and tend to ruin the party in power. The President is, by provision of the National Constitution, entitled to make appointments, and if the persons appointed are honest and capable, it is the duty of the Senate to confirm them, regardless of politics.

The impeachment of Andrew Johnson will never take place. The past four weeks have demonstrated the fact that there is about as much honesty and devotion to freedom in the White House as in Congress. The exhibitions of the past six months satisfy me there has never for one moment existed, on the part of any considerable portion of the Republican members, a serious intention of resorting to that method of ridding the nation of a bad Chief Magistrate. Impeachment has only been threatened to drive the President to make appointments of Congressional favorites to office. That object, to a great extent, having been secured, no session of Congress will take place until December, unless foreign relations render one necessary in July. Mexican matters may assume such shape as to require Congressional legislation during the Summer; but that body will never be assembled to impeach Mr. Johnson. Had the idea of impeachment been honestly entertained by the Republican leaders in Congress, no such insane attempts to degrade the Presidential office as are evinced in the Tenure of Office bill and the Military Appropriation bill would ever have been resorted to. They would have at once earnestly entered upon the work of removing an unfit incumbent without destroying the efficiency of the office.

The time when impeachment would be useful or desirable in the work of national regeneration has passed by. Early last Winter such a measure would have been salutary in its effects upon the nation, and hastened the period of general enfranchisement. Now that measure cannot be commenced before December next, and the trial could not be concluded until we have entered upon the next Presidential contest; and the recently rebellious States have been reorganized and admitted to representation on the floor of Congress. No practical good can now be derived from an attempt to impeach a swindling President by a "swindling Congress," and the idea will have to be abandoned.

Mr. Johnson has made such an equitable division of the offices between his friends and the friends of the members of the two houses of Congress, that our virtuous Republican leaders seem satisfied that the President is now all right. Next Winter will see that party as eloquently eulogistic of Andrew Johnson as they were while he was engaged in the work of robbing the nation of the fruit of its victories, during the Summer and Autumn of 1865. As an evidence of what is going on, I have only to refer to the fact that, on the day after the adjournment of the Senate, Forney's *Chronicle*, the organ of Republican trimmers and whitewasher of political hypocrites, declared the conduct of the President, in the matter of appointments the past four weeks, to have been most admirable, and that no session of Congress will take place in July next. From this time forward, I have very little doubt but the Republican leaders will be as obsequious and fawning to the President as they have been abusive in the past. They have shown their teeth to the Chief Magistrate, but have not dared to bite; and to prevent that, boncs have been given them in the shape of official positions. That has made the snarling dogs as quiet and fawning as one could wish.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 30th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

HAVING returned from a visit to Richmond, the capital of rebeldom, I have concluded to furnish you with a faint picture of the state of politics. The work of reconstruction is slowly progressing in old Virginia. If such Republicans as Henry Wilson and some of the members of the Republican National Committee would cease their efforts to reconstruct the old Whig party, I have no question but Virginia would in January next be ready with a radical State Legislature and Delegation in Congress to take her place as a State in the American Union. As it is, the result is quite doubtful.

A radical State Convention, composed of radical loyal men of all races and colors, was recently held in Richmond and a good platform adopted and proper committees of organization appointed. The Convention was a success, and a determined and enthusiastic spirit pervaded all its transactions.

Unfortunately, there is in old Virginia at the present time a large number of inactive, faint-hearted Union men from the old Whig party, who still believe hatred of everybody that voted with the old Democracy and constant boasting of the respectability of an old Virginia Whig is essential to political salvation. That class of men hate the negro and accept African suffrage because they cannot help themselves. Until the passage of the Military bill those men opposed Universal suffrage, and stigmatized as mad fanatics all who believed the negro possessed of any rights the white man was bound to respect. They love power and are willing to resort to almost any expedient to obtain it. Thus when they found the radicals were determined to hold a State Convention, those respectable gentlemen went to Hunnicut, and others prominent in getting up the meeting and proposed to join them, provided there could be an arrangement made for having the negroes meet in one Hall and the white men in another. They could not, on any account, think of joining in a Convention in which white and black men sat down side by side on the same floor.

The radicals spurned the proposition and the "respectable" Whig gentlemen declined attending the Convention. The Convention came off, however, and was a decided success. Finding the radicals under the lead of Hunnicut, Tucker, Hawkshurst, Wardwell and others, likely to be recognized by the National Republican organization as the true Republicans of Virginia, the venerable old Whig respectabilities are now laboring to get up a new Convention under the lead of John Minor Botts, Franklin Stearns, Gov. Pierpont and men of that stamp, to give (as they say) respectability and character t the organization.

That such a Convention will be holden, and an attempt made to resurrect the Whig party in Virginia, is morally certain. I was informed by a prominent man favorable to such a course that they were advised to do so by prominent Republican members of Congress. I believe he stated the truth, and that the National Republican Congressional Committee are engaged in such a work all over the Union. In no other way can the fact be explained that nearly all the matter published and circulated by that Committee in the South is Tariff speeches and documents, attempting to prove that none but Whigs are favorable to the Union. The truth is, that Committee is more anxious to reorganize the old, timid, compromising Whig party, with its obsolete tariffs, corrupt national banks, and other insane follies, than it is to reorganize the recently rebellious States on a radical basis.

The effect of such a course in Virginia is likely to make three parties in the next election. The radicals, composed of the outspoken white Union men and the colored vote, are determined never to breathe the breath of life into the old, time-serving and intriguing Whig party. They prefer bold men to cowards, and if a choice must be had between ancient parties, they would choose the old Democratic party under the lead of Robert E. Lee and the outspoken rebel chiefs. To give you an idea of the feeling of the colored men respecting John Minor Botts, and men of his style of thought, I will give you an extract of a speech by the Rev. Nicholas Richmond (colored) at Delaware last week.

"All who were for the Union before the war were for the *Union as it was*. Who will say they are for the *Union as it is?*" "In speaking of Union men, he would call attention to one John Minor Botts who has turned like a weathercock on a housetop." "He would suffer his right arm to be cut off before he would vote for him."

Such is the language used by the leading colored men respecting John Minor Botts, Gov. Pierpont, and the men the New York *Tribune* asks the Republicans to accept as leaders. The Republicans of Virginia will never organize under the lead of such men, no matter how eloquently the *Tribune* and the Northern Republican leaders may beg them to do so. Radicals or rebels will rule the South in the future. True Union men prefer the old rebel Democracy to the old, faint-hearted, rebel Whig party. The old, rebel Democrat is a bold man and will accept the logic of his position. The old rebel Whig is a timid man, given to intrigue and treachery, and can never be trusted anywhere. It would be better to day for the nation, for the radicals, and friends of freedom, to restore the old Democratic party to power than to resurrect the old Whig party. There would be some hope of inducing the Democracy to make some progress in the course of Equal Rights, if such a course would aid in keeping it in power. It would have courage to do so. There would be no reason for such hopes of the old Whig party. It would never have courage enough to adopt such a measure unless it should be found necessary to carry through some Tariff or Bank project. As Banking, Tariffs and Equal Rights never work together, there can be no choice for liberty under old Whig rule. The American people desire positive parties and positive men. They have passed over the time of being satisfied with your "half-saint and sinner half" leaders, that the saints love well, and the devil has not the least possible objection to. Hereafter a man must be wholly saint or wholly sinner to command popular support. In selecting Presidential candidates in 1868, it would be well for our timid Republican leaders to bear this in mind. If they do not, defeat will follow.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

P.S.—Since writing the above, I am authentically informed that the National Congressional Committee have no sympathy with the attempt to organize a Whig party in Virginia and the South. That Committee are disposed to organize a Radical Republican party. They are satisfied that the safety of the Republican party in 1868 depends upon its fidelity to Radicalism. I make this statement in justice to that Committee, not wishing in any way to injure its usefulness.

C. E. M.

LETTER FROM ASA FAIRBANKS.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., April 30, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

WHEN our friend Phillips first began to criticize Gen. Grant, I felt that it was a delicate matter; but I do not feel it to be so now. We are bound to give that distinguished officer all the credit he deserves. No doubt, he deserves much; during the war he was true to the country, and exerted himself to the utmost of his ability to defeat and crush its enemies. Since the rebels laid down their arms and surrendered, many murders and massacres of Union men and women, black and white, have been committed in the rebel States. It was his duty, as General-in-Chief, to have prevented it, which might have been easily done. To say that Andrew Johnson prevented him, is no excuse. If his superior favored the rebels, it was his duty to let the people know it. The people looked to him for protection. They were deceived—disappointed; but let that pass, and let us look to the present and future. The New York *Herald* nominates him for the next President. It is the duty of the people to consider calmly and thoughtfully, that they may be well prepared to act on so important a matter.

Washington was a civilian; he was more than a General, and because he was made President, is no sure precedent for the people to follow. Gen. Jackson was made President by a party, and while we admit that he did some good things, his administration, in many respects, was greatly demoralizing to the nation. The Slave Power had full sway. The Florida war, which cost forty millions, was a slave hunt—nothing more nor less—to help the slave masters to catch their runaway slaves. Gen. Harrison was taken up by the Whig party, because he was the most sure man to succeed, and he did by an overwhelming majority, and John Tyler was taken for Vice-President, in order to get the vote of Virginia; but that failed. President Harrison died one month after he took the oath of office. Tyler became President; the Whigs were down again in less than a year. The Democrats kept the power, when at the close of the Mexican war, the Whig party took up Gen. Taylor; and why did they think of him? He was nothing but a military man—never studied anything but military tactics—had no qualifications as a civilian or statesman. He had been successful in the field—won victories over the enemy; was well versed in his calling. *Why*, he was the man to *get votes*, that was all; and so the Whigs were again successful, so far as to make him President. He was an honest man, politically—he was not a political trimmer, as was his successor, Millard Fillmore. He was a loss to the country when he died; he never would have given his approval to that infamous bill for catching slaves. I don't believe he would. Fillmore's administration, a disgraceful one, comes to an end. The Whigs, for the third time, nominate a military man, in the person of Gen. Scott; but the Slave Power would not trust the Whigs, notwithstanding they had done so much for them. The Whig party were crushed, and that was the end of the Whig party—a fatality, a curse followed them. They undertook to build up and keep themselves in power by taking military chieftains, Generals that had successfully fought great battles. They succeeded in carrying two elections; but it gave them no credit as a party—it made their downfall the greater and more speedy. How much better will the Republicans fare if they undertake to play the same game? They will not deserve any better fate than did the Whig party, and a similar fate no doubt would follow them. Why not take a distinguished statesman or civilian, without any military experience, and place him in command of a large army? Is there not just as much reason in that case as in the other? Every one would say the army would be in jeopardy. The *army* might as well be in jeopardy as the *nation*. As goes one, so goes the other. Who thinks of employing a house carpenter to erect a brick or stone building? or a stone mason to make a piano? I am not speaking thus to disparage Gen. Grant. It is no fault of his that he is not fit for the presidential chair. His studies have been in another direction. He chose his own profession. He educated himself to be a soldier, and because he has been successful in his profession, as the commander of an army, is no reason why the people should make him the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

But I am told it is not certain that we can elect any other man, and if the Republicans don't nominate him, the Democrats may. If Gen. Grant would accept a nomination from the Democratic party, the question is settled. He is just the man the Republicans ought to discard; and why are some fearful that the Republicans cannot succeed unless they take a man with the high sounding title of General? Is the Republican party weaker than it was in 1860 and 1864? If it is, I can assign but one reason—they let a rebel sympathizer live in the White House, who no doubt pledged himself, in black and white, to sustain the Southern oligarchy as it was. The *Tribune* frequently lays before its readers facts highly condemnatory of Andrew Johnson, as doing his best to help the Southern rebels, but not a word in favor of having the nuisance abated. How long would Horace Greeley keep a man in his employ after the fact became palpable that he was using all his powers against his interest, and in favor of the rebel press? Say, Mr. Greeley, how long? The *Tribune*, being witness, says that is what President Johnson has done for more than a year, and is doing to this day. Is that the way to make the Republican party strong?

A. F.

LETTER FROM CALVIN FAIRBANK.

WILLIAMSBURG, Mass, April 29, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE question of manhood suffrage has acquired already a new, and, in my opinion, a paramount and dangerous importance from the stern inevitable of the situation in the late rebel States, and at the same time novel and apocalyptic, opening a new field of labor to the Anti-Slavery Society, with twice the responsibility of any previous year.

Personal liberty is on the parchment, a fixed fact. Citizenship is a foregone conclusion.

These put the Southern despot and Northern codfish aristocracy to their trumps, and stultify their old theory of the law of Ham, which, says Nasby, "signifies *the hind quarter of a hog*," dissipating the hackneyed theory of a war of races, and substituting a race for the negro vote and influence. The theory of the "*World*, the flesh and the devil" used to be, that a "war of races" would result from an equal distribution of the franchises, through miscegenation, which must follow citizenship.

The old enemies of liberty seem to have comprehended the importance of the fiat of the people, and are setting about the work of securing the vote of the negro. The *World* thinks it a part of wisdom to accept the situation, and "get beforehand with the radicals in gaining an ascendency over the negro mind." This secured, the "*World*" would feel secure of a victory on another question of a spirituous nature. It argues the question before the people it has always hated and maligned in the following glowing, high-toned strains; "The negro population in the State is mostly collected in the cities, and like, the majority of laboring people in the cities, its sympathies ought to go with the Democratic party. Freedom to work for wages * * * is what they have long enjoyed in the State. But, freedom to spend their wages as they please, freedom to eat and drink what they please, and in any day of the week they please, is what neither they nor their white fellow-citizens are permitted by the Republican party to enjoy."

All through the South, the old noble blood is getting very close to the negro.

Herschel V. Johnson claims an identity of interest, craves one of feeling, finds that they have lived together, played together in childhood, and that the dust of their ancestors sleep together in the sunny valleys of the South. Getting near of kin now. However ridiculous this appears, it certainly offers a field of labor, and demands the utmost vigilance and prudence.

Wade Hampton in South Carolina, and men of his stamp in other States South, are already courting, and have gained, to some extent, the confidence of some of our best men of color North as well as South. This is absolutely wrong—dangerous to them and us—dangerous to liberty. And this is not strange at all; for when we know that the people of the North have abused so many opportunities for giving freedom and equal justice to the people North as well as South, and still refuse it—still maintain the spirit of caste—in the community and in the church, it is not strange that their inquiries should be directed Southward to a people better acquainted with, and really less prejudiced against the negro because better acquainted. I lately heard of a good reliable colored man who was once a slave say, "Wade Hampton means what he says. He is sincere. Such men, when they give their word, will keep it."

The tact of the South in courting this people who have "played with them in childhood," and made them rich, haughty, imperious in manhood, the treachery of such Republicans as threw away a golden moment in Connecticut—the fate of that people for years to come, hanging on the decisions of the people for the next year or two—Congress willing—waiting an expression of the people—so many looking for the Presidency, and the Vice-Presidency, and willing to make their obeisance in any attitude to gain the popular favor, the treachery and plot of the President to secure the South and her oligarchy, the haste to reconstruct—these all admonish us to beware; counsel caution, energy, courage, fidelity, sacrifice—unbending, unyielding integrity, untiring effort.

I am gratified to hope that such men as Day, and Delany, and Garnett, and Langston may take the field in the South. We may rely upon their wisdom and integrity; they will not fail to win the judgments and affections of the people. If this moment is lost, the work is half lost.

I cannot avoid regret that seventeen years' imprisonment, in which I sacrificed health, youth, pecuniary circumstances and position for the cause of the oppressed, has resulted in circumstances that offer strong reasons against going upon the Southern field myself; and still I am pressed with a strong inclination to go among that people, and impart kind and faithful counsel to them.

Ought not the Anti-Slavery Society to extend her work over that ground, and send out her tried and trusted men and women to lift up, enlighten, comfort, direct, and energize that new-born people? God speed the right!

CALVIN FAIRBANK.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION AND CASTE SCHOOLS.

WESTFORD, Conn., May 3d, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I NOTICE that one of the Secretaries of the American Missionary Association is making strenuous efforts to explain to the satisfaction of the friends of equal rights the exclusion of colored students from one of the Society's schools, at Beaufort, N. C. I have seen no reply to my letter in your columns; but presuming one to have been made, I send some further statements. The following cards will speak for themselves:

BEAUFORT, N. C., April 6, 1867.

The undersigned, citizens of Beaufort, respectfully state that this community was given to understand that no colored students would be admitted to the white school established here by the American Missionary Association, and that the unanimous sentiment of the freedmen and more radical whites is against such distinction on account of color. We regard it as building up prejudice, and call on our Northern friends to see that the matter is set right.

Hymon Thompson,	J. A. Norwood,
Geo. W. Jerkins,	Louis Stephens,
D. M. Fenderson,	Samuel Hawkins,
A. C. Fenderson,	B. Potter,
Oliver N. Henry,	William Norwood,
John B. Henry, and one hundred others.	

We hereby certify that we made personal application for admittance to the white Mission School of this place, and were turned away from the door, being told that no colored folks were taught there.

David M. Fenderson, Rachel Cook.

Beaufort, N. C., April 6, 1867.

Last year some twenty white children attended the colored school at Beaufort, and if the same policy had been pursued this year, it is probable that more would have done so. But by establishing a separate school for poor whites, the old bitterness and prejudice had been awakened, and a wall of separation built up between the two races.

Notwithstanding all explanations that can possibly be made, these facts are evident, viz: The American Missionary Association established a separate school for poor whites at Beaufort, although there was still room to receive them in schools already in operation. Colored students seeking admission to this school were turned away from the door. The Secretaries, when remonstrated with and petitioned to, replied in substance, "We regard it as *exceedingly unfortunate* that the issue has been made," but did not admit colored students. *The admission of one colored child would have set the matter at rest*; but this was never done. And finally, when, as a last resort, the matter was exposed in the press, it would have been more satisfactory to the friends of equal rights if the American Missionary Association had met the question squarely by admitting colored students to the school, instead of dodging it by transferring the school to other hands. *The easte school established by the American Missionary Association at Beaufort is still in operation*, though the Society, Pilate-like, has publicly washed its hands of all blame.

I cannot feel that a Society that conducts in this way is worthy of the support of Northern Radicals. If it had been true to the cause, it would never have started a separate school for whites, which even the Secretaries are compelled to confess was done. If the school had been on the right basis, a discussion of the subject would not have caused the American Missionary Association to transfer it to other hands, as the officers admit has been the case.

Very truly yours, S. J. WHITON,
Late Missionary to Freedmen at Beaufort, N. C.

LITERARY.

The weekly numbers of *Littell's Living Age* for January, February and March of the current year, have been collected, as usual, by the publishers, and make the fourth volume of the fourth series of this standard periodical.

The number of books bublished in Germany has varied from year to year, since 1816, when only 3,000 different works were issued. It gradually increased from that date, until it reached its maximum number, in 1846, when 11,086 different works were published. For three years after that, the publication decreased, until they fell to 8,497, in 1849; since which time there has been, on the whole, some improvement, though the number of issues has but once reached 9,779, in 1862; since which time they have dropped to 8,699, in 1866.

The long-talked-of Southern Radical journal, the New Orleans *Republican*, made its appearance on Wednesday. Gen. S. Lockwood Brown, formerly of the Quartermaster's Department, is the business manager and general director. The managing editor is William M. Fish, Esq., for a long time connected with the *True Delta*, and Michael Hahn is leading editorial writer. The *Republican* is one of the journals designated by Congress for the publication of the government laws, orders, etc., which secures it quite an income at the outset. It is said to resemble in size and typographical appearance the New York *Tribune*.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Herald* gives the following interesting account of the book trade of Leipsic, the book centre of the world: The present number of booksellers and publishers in Germany is 3,100, all of whom have agents in Leipsic. Of these 3,100 houses, 1,261 are publishers, not of books exclusively, but also of maps, music, drawings, etc., while 1839 are booksellers or keepers of bookstores. Of the latter, 702 are domiciled in Prussia, 194 in the German provinces of Austria, 74 in Hungary, etc., 193 in Saxony, 127 in Bavaria, 79 in Wurttemberg, 42 in Baden, 200 in the other smaller States, to whom must be added the German booksellers in foreign countries, viz.: 68 in Switzerland, 57 in Russia, 31 in America, 21 in the Netherlands, and less than 10 in each of the Kingdoms of Greece, Italy, the Papal Dominions, Turkey and Asia. Berlin has no less than 341 booksellers; Leipsic, 234; Vienna, with a population five times as large as Leipsic, has only 103 bookselling firms.

CONFERENCE OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

THE Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania cordially invite the lovers of Truth and Humanity, without distinction of sect or name, to come to their Fifteenth Yearly Meeting, which will be held at Longwood, near Hamorton, Chester County, commencing on Fifth day (Thursday), the 6th of Sixth month (June), 1867, at 11 o'clock, a.m., and continuing three days.

This Religious Society, leaving its members free to construct their own creeds, seeks its bond of union in a common love of God and Humanity, and a common desire to labor for the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. Its meetings are devoted, not to doctrinal disputation, or the working of ecclesiastical machinery, but to free discussion and action upon questions relating directly to the social, moral and religious improvement of the people. It aims to cultivate and cherish a piety free alike from superstition and bigotry, and springing from a filial confidence in God as the Father of every human being, and the Friend especially of the poor, the weak and the oppressed. Undervaluing not the records bequeathed to us of the truth as apprehended by prophets and apostles of the olden time, it reverences human nature more than any parchment, and endeavors to keep an open ear for the still, small voice of the Spirit, expecting to receive thereby fresh revelations of the Divine Will adapted to the needs of the soul in the present age. It has no disciplinary code, no priesthood, no ritual, no prescribed forms of worship; and its platform, under the necessary limitations of time and order, is free to all who may desire to take part in its proceedings.

The members of the Society in the region around Longwood will open their hearts and homes freely to strangers who may be drawn to the meeting; and the social life of the occasion is always one of its most attractive features.

Robert Collyer, minister of the Second Unitarian Society in Chicago, in reply to an invitation to attend the meeting, says: "I can conceive of no other call so welcome as this is, and, if I live and am well, you may count on me sure."

OLIVER JOHNSON, ANNA MARY MARSHALL, } Clerks.

*** Communications for the meeting may be addressed, previous to June 4th, to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Independent* Office, New York; and while the meeting is in session, to Hamorton, Chester County, Pa.

Longwood meeting-house is near the village of Hamorton, thirty miles west of Philadelphia, on the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad. Trains leave Philadelphia at 7:15 A.M. and 4:50 P.M., returning twice each day.

THE JEWISH GOVERNMENT OF AMERICA. — This government has been in official operation since October, 1864. It has been carrying on its executive, diplomatic and military business very quietly, and been looking after the interests of the Israelitish people in a national sense, caring alike for Mosaic Jews, Christian Jews, and Jews of whatever faith. Some of the more important doings of this government, as also its policy on some of the important questions of the times, are to be published very soon. It has its headquarters in New York. This government has now on foot some serious governmental action.

THE LADIES' SOUTHERN RELIEF ASSOCIATION.—A conversational *soirée* in aid of the Ladies' Southern Relief Association will shortly be given, probably at Dr. Bellows' Church, by Mr. STERLIFER MOULTON, of the Jewish Government of America.

A GRAND OPEN MEETING OF No. 22 COUNCIL U. L. OF A. will be held Thursday evening, the 16th inst., in Argus Hall, No. 600 Broadway, in favor of Equal Suffrage. Eminent speakers are engaged. Further notice will be given in the papers.

WM. P. POWELL, President.

COLORED SCHOOLS IN ARKANSAS.—There are now in operation in Arkansas nineteen schools for the freedmen, and fifteen others have been located and are awaiting teachers from the North. Of those in operation, eight are sustained entirely by the freedmen and ten in part. Twenty-two white and four colored teachers are employed. The whole number of scholars is 1,087. The number of Sabbath-schools is 11, with a membership of 951.

WE are glad to know that the Boston *Advertiser* is pleased at the social advancement of the colored citizens of Massachusetts. The evidence presented in their presence as members of the State Legislature, their position on juries, and their appearance at the fashionable levees of high officials—the President of the State Senate, for instance—are all circumstances which indicate their just recognition before society, as well as before the law.

THE colored people of Washington are very active and enthusiastic, and are holding meetings in every ward of the city to urge a full registry preparatory for the coming election. It is stated that thus far the number of blacks registered exceeds that of the whites.

NOBLE'S picture, which tells with solemn earnestness how Margaret Garner, the slave woman, took the life of her children rather than that they should go back with her to the misery of bondage, is on exhibition at the Academy of Design.

ST. LOUIS thinks of voting at the coming city election to take the sense of that city relative to female suffrage.

Wendell Phillips's

SPEECHES AND LECTURES, a handsomely-bound volume, 562 pages, with steel portrait, will be sent, post-paid, to any person renewing a subscription for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and sending the name of one new subscriber ($6), or for two new subscribers, $3 a year.

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(5-20, with 6 per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold), will be paid to the person who sends, by or before July 1st, the largest number of paid-in subscriptions for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD for 1867; also 75 cents commission for each yearly subscription, in addition to the Bond.

WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN AID OF NAPOLEON.

[WE are glad to be able to acknowledge the following contributions in aid of our carrier, Louis Napoleon. We hope there may be others also disposed to lend him a helping hand:]

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Miscellaneous Department.

HYMN OF DEDICATION.

BY REV. WM. H. FURNESS, D.D.

To the high and and holy One,
To his Spirit, to his Son,
Be this place forever given,
House of God and gate of heaven!

To the Truth that makes us free,
To the Love that leads to thee,
We this temple dedicate,
And thy blessing we await.

Canst thou be approached by men?
Angels and archangels, when
God his brightness on them sheds,
Veil their faces, bow their heads.

Yet, Almighty One, thou art
Present in the contrite heart;
There dost thou descend and reign,
Whom the heavens cannot contain.

Be each heart a temple, where,
Witnesses that thou art there,
Come descending from above,
Faith and Holiness and Love.

These shall consecrate the place
With the beauty of thy grace,
Radiant thus with light divine,
Be this house forever thine.

THIERS IN THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY.

From the New Orleans Picayune.

PARIS, March, 1867.

Go on "the flags" and hunt men who have passed their seventy-fifth year. Observe them; gauge their strength; allot them imaginary tasks. Notice them as the sun goes down, and reaction succeeds to the excitement of business. You are satisfied that a man who has celebrated seventy-five birthdays is nearer infancy than manhood; the grasshopper is a burden to him; his eyes are darkened by the shadow of eternal night; his brain is drowsy. Now, don't indulge in sombre reflections, and meditate upon the weariness of life's last scenes, for if a man is old even at seventy-five or eighty, or anywhere this side of one hundred (I abandon him to you after this age), it is entirely his own fault. I don't pretend to say we can absolutely escape death (though whole generations of very wise and learned men have held that hypothesis as true, to wit: the Rosicrucians), but we can keep it off until life completes its circle, and consigns us once more to the nurse's arms; interdicts us truffles floating *home* on iced *vieux ceps*, and dooms us to cordials brewed by the apothecary. Let him who covets this cabbage life take measures to secure it—he's not for my market. I'll show you a man, who, though passed seventy-five, is capable of coquetting with disease; speaking brilliantly for three hours and a half, and spending eight hours, that same day, after dinner, in a printing office, revising proof-sheets; returning home at half-past three o'clock a.m. This man's name is Adolphe Thiers. He announced last week his intention of speaking, forgetting 'twas carnival week, and when he remembered it, he gave out he was quite unwell, entirely too unwell to think of speaking. He had no idea of appealing to public attention on grave questions of public policy while the general eye was filled with murmurs, while every ear vibrated with the hoarse notes of the day horn, and every leg ached with dancing. When a woman faints a statesman falls sick, and the obstacle which seemed insuperable is evaded. You may easily believe there was an immense audience. A small portion of the public galleries is allotted to the unpatronized public, and the rule is—first come, first served. There were people who stood all night and the greater part of the following day (despite the unusually inclement season) to listen to the great speech. Some of these waiters at the gate were actuated by mercenary motives; they sold their places; $30 and $40 were cheerfully paid for the front ranks. There were 10,000 applications for tickets. Admittance to the greater portion of the public galleries is by ticket. The diplomatic box was filled; foremost among the occupants was the Princess de Metternich. Prince Napoleon was on the floor. It was a quarter past two when M. Thiers took the tribune. He spoke two hours and a half, rested for fifteen minutes, and then spoke for an hour. He returned home at six o'clock; dined; at seven o'clock went to the *Moniteur* office, and remained there until three o'clock in the morning, revising the proofs of his speech. As he goes from his seat to the tribune he cannot be said to move with grace. He has a short but fat body and very short legs. He does not walk, he waddles. When he reaches the tribune he fails to command the audience by that appearance of the great orator which Clay, Preston and Gaston possessed. He barely reaches above the desk of the tribune, and his face, body and gestures remind one of Punch. He wears spectacles, too, and glass is as complete a non-conductor of eloquence as it is of electricity. Then he has an awkward trick of continually thrusting his hands in his pantaloons as if to satisfy himself that all is right thereabouts. Besides his voice is extremely disagreeable; Mrs. Candle must have pitched her voice in just that grating shrill note when she was most exasperated with her husband. May be these characteristics, which seem to me disadvantages, are really advantages; they may throw an audience off their guard, make the mind's sentinels careless, and give easy access to the citadel commonly so well defended by interests, passions and prejudices. His style of speaking would seem to confirm this view. He never seems to attack or to defend. He apparently is engaged only in expressing his private opinions in a conversational way. He merely wishes you to understand his sentiments; he does not ask you to share them. It is the syren breathing her melodies to the winds; they do not appear addressed to the mariner doubling her island; though if he hears them once, he is enchanted by them.

GAMMA.

A STRANGE SCENE.

ACCOUNTS reach us of the great mass meeting of the negroes at Charleston, S. C., which are very interesting. A writer says:

The attendance at the meeting has been estimated by impartial judges at between five and six thousand, including men, women and children. The crowd was very orderly, though their excitement was wrought up to the highest pitch, principally, however, by the appearance on the platform and address by Solon Robinson, of the New York *Tribune*. His long gray hair and gray beard, in addition to his sepulchral voice and hands and eyes upraised to heaven as he stepped forth to address the assemblage, seemed to act like an electric shock on the multitude. He said:

"Where am I? Will somebody pinch me or kick me so as to wake me? Am I dreaming? It cannot be true? I am in Charleston. Why, this is where I used to come to witness great slave-auctions. Is this South Carolina? Has South Carolina brought all her slaves here to be sold? Very well; I will put them up at auction. I will sell you all together—I never divide families. I never tear wives from their husbands; I never separate children from their mothers, and I will sell you all together. Now I am going to put you up. Here is a good plantation hand. (Great laughter.) Here is a first-rate house servant and good cook. Come up here, strip yourselves, and show that you are sound. Now, going, going, going. Oh! look up! Do you see that spirit with us? It is the spirit of Abraham Lincoln! Abraham Lincoln! God Almighty! look on Abraham Lincoln! He bids for all the slaves in South Carolina. He has bought you all with his blood, and now declares you are free." (Great shouting, and cries of "Hallelujah, hallelujah!")

"Oh! look up; look up and bless God that Abraham Lincoln died for you. Kneel down by your bedside to-night and bless God that Abraham Lincoln died to make you free. Oh! what a sight is this. Oh! that I have lived to see this sight. It is what I read of all the war. I often read that the rebels were determined to die in the last ditch. I believe this is it. This is the last ditch. Oh, Mr. Chairman, that I had a voice to speak to you for an hour. I have only come to show myself, to show that a man from New York, from the *Tribune* office, can come to Charleston and stand before ten thousand people and declare that all the slaves are free. This is one of the proudest days of all my long life. I will remember it while I live, and think of it upon my dying bed. I shall look upon this day as one of the most glorious of all my life. Bless God for this day."

During the delivery of this speech some of the females went into hysterics and were carried off the ground. The enthusiasm of the men was indescribable. The shouts and waving of hats continued for five or ten minutes after the closing remarks of the speaker.

THE CHAMELEON—ITS CHANGES OF COLOR AND MANNER OF TAKING FOOD.

MR. COUCH, the English naturalist, had excellent opportunities for observing the changes of color and modes of taking food in the chameleon. The one in his possession measured ten inches in length, of which the tail was four and a half inches. Its eyes were black and lively, and the pupil deeply seated in a hole scarcely larger than would be made with a pin. The movement of each eye was independent of the opposite, and they were rarely directed at one object, except when the creature was intent on seizing prey. The movements were very slow and deliberate, especially when on the ground. Its color was subject to continual change, but if a creature that rarely retains the same hue for ten minutes together, can be said to possess one which may be termed its own, it was dusky brown, or almost black, nearly approaching to the darkest soot. The light was of more importance than heat, and when basking in the sun, even the mouth was opened to receive the influence. A dingy black was its common color when thus enjoying itself. Both sides did not always adopt the same colors; for while the one towards the light was sometimes a dark brown, the other side would perhaps be light yellow, with white spots. On one occasion when the stick on which it rested was touched gently, without waking it, it became instantly covered all over with minute brown spots. On another, when the color was altogether yellow, a book was held so as to cast a shade on the anterior part of the body, while a candle was held within four inches of the hindmost portion; and then presently the illuminated part changed to a light brown, while the shaded portion remained as before, and when the screen was removed, the exact limit of the shade was visible. The general belief in its faculty to live without food or drink, and to subsist wholly upon air, was proved to be incorrect. It required water about once in a fortnight, and was very fond of flies. It not only took all that came in its way, but would seize them as fast as children would bring them, and even became so familiar with the act as to take them repeatedly from the hand. It was thus easy to measure the distance to which it was able to dart its tongue in seizing its prey, which was found to be six inches—or rather more than the length of its body. The fly would adhere to the tongue by means of a tenacious mucous with which it was covered. On the approach of cold weather, its activity was greatly lessened, and it slept the greater portion of the time. The sunshine would always reanimate it; but artificial heat produced little effect. Its color was varied, and when at last found dead, the general hue of its surface was dark.

UNA.

Roving, roving, as it seems,
Una lights my clouded dreams:
Still for journey she is dressed;
We wander far by east and west.

In the homestead, homely thought;
At my work I ramble not:
If from home chance draw me wide,
Half-seen Una sits beside.

In my house and garden-plot,
Though beloved, I miss her not,
But one I seek in foreign places,
One face explore in foreign faces.

At home a deeper thought may light
The inward sky with chrysolite,
And I greet from far the ray,
Aurora of a dearer day.

But if upon the seas I sail,
Or trundle on the glowing rail,
I am but a thought of hers,
Loveliest of travellers.

So the gentle poet's name
To foreign parts is blown by fame:
Seek him in his native town,
He is hidden and unknown.

—*Emerson's "May Day."*

EXPERIMENTS WITH PAPER PIPES AND CISTERNS.

THE London *Railway News* says: "Railway companies suffer, in common with private individuals, from the effects of severe frosts, in the bursting of the pipes and cisterns from which they derive their supply of water. It may interest railway managers and others to know that pipes and cisterns may be made of a material which effectually resists the frost, and, strange as it may appear, the material employed is paper. The severe frost of the last two or three weeks has afforded abundant opportunity of confirming the opinion expressed by Mr. Szerelmey, that the materials which he employs render the paper a perfect non-conductor, and that, as such it will resist the action of frost. In the open yard of his factory, at the Albion Works, near Battersea Bridge, there has been during the last fortnight one large brick tank, containing several tons of water, the ice upon which was several inches thick. By the side of this was another, made of paper boards, the water in which was not the least frozen. Some iron pipes, which supplied water to the boiler of the engine-house from the large cistern, burst in several places on the thawing of the frozen water which they contained. Some paper pipes, on the other hand, filled with water, and which have been exposed in the snow on the ground, perfectly kept the water from freezing.

"In a model house or hut, made of paper, and which is erected on the open space, some water in open bowls and pails did not freeze, though outside the building there were large masses of ice. The encaustic colors with which the exterior of the paper house had been painted, and which had also been applied to brick, iron, stone, timber, and a variety of other materials, retained their peculiar brightness and brilliancy throughout the whole period of the continued frost. These very practical and severe tests would seem to establish very fully the value of the process. If water does not freeze under the conditions referred to, a very large amount of that discomfort and annoyance so generally experienced at the time of frost and thaw would be arrested by the substitution of these paper pipes and cisterns for the ordinary ones of lead or iron."

FELLING TREES BY FIRE.—The idea of burning down a tree six or eight feet in diameter, solid and green, would have seemed to us as simply absurd and ridiculous. But the thing is done in Oregon every day, at a vast saving of time and labor. The operation is done in this wise: A hole is bored into the tree horizontally, the nearer the centre the better. Then, directly under this hole, another is bored at an angle of elevation, so that the holes meet together near the centre of the tree. A coal of fire is introduced into the draught orifice, and the upper one performs the functions of a chimney. The heart of the tree is dry, and contains a considerable quantity of pitch, and when manipulated as I have described, burns briskly. It is necessary to feed this fire with some fresh fuel from time to time. But one man can keep a large number of trees thus burning, and will get twenty or a hundred down thus much easier and quicker than he could otherwise do. In a similar manner, when the tree is down, it is cut into pieces by being burned in two. A hole is bored into the log from the top, and another from its side, till they meet as before described, when the perpendicular hole acts as a flue, and the horizontal one furnishes the draught. It often happens, that in burning a large tree into lengths for saw-logs, there is not more timber wasted than would result from the chopping of the log with an axe.

HORACE GREELEY'S manuscript is notoriously bad, and it is said to require a printer of no ordinary skill to set up his "copy," if he happens to write it in a hurry. The recent newspaper anecdote of an article headed Wm. H. Seward, which Mr. Greeley had returned to him set up "Richard III.," is fresh in the minds of all; but an occurrence still more funny is related, which occurred in the *Tribune* office some years since.

A compositor had made so many errors in setting "the philosopher's" copy, that it irritated him to such a degree that he wrote the typo a letter discharging him from further duty. The compositor being utterly unable to decipher the contents of the note on receiving it, took it to the foreman, who explained to him that it expressed that he was "not a careful man, and Mr. Greeley dispensed with his services." The man laid down his stick, put on his coat and left. The next day he applied for a situation as assistant foreman in a large printing office in the same street. The proprietor inquired if he could bring a recommendation from his last employer.

"All I have is this letter from Mr. Greeley," said the young man, boldly producing the document.

The worthy job printer scanned it for some minutes with a perplexed air. "H—m—m—careful man—services—signed H. Greeley—yes, that will do; we will engage you." And he did, and never learned till two years afterwards, that the "letter from Mr. Greeley" was one of discredit, instead of commendation as he had supposed.

ROBINS AGAIN.

THERE'S a call upon the housetop, an answer from the plain,
There's a warble in the sunshine, a twitter in the rain;
And through my heart at sound of these,
There comes a nameless thrill,
As sweet as odor to the rose,
Or verdure to the hill;
And all these joyous mornings
My heart pours forth this strain—
"God bless the dear old robins,
Who have come back again."

For they bring a thought of summer, of dreamy, luscious days,
Of king-cups in the meadow making a golden haze;
A longing for the clover blooms,
For roses all aglow,
For fragrant orchards, where the bees
With droning murmurs go.
I dream of all the beauties
Of Summer's golden reign,
And sing—"God keep the robins,
Who have come back again."

LEMAIRE'S BRAIN.

PARIS, March 28, 1867.

You have heard the story of Lemaire, the young Frenchman who murdered the girl that he feared his father was going to marry, and who, far from expressing any remorse for his crime after he was condemned to death, on the contrary, seemed to regard himself simply as an anomaly of nature, and expressed in his last words the desire to have his brain examined, because he thought something curious would be found there. After the execution of the murderer, the Paris savans assembled for the purpose of examining the brain. Science has been doing curious things here lately; seeking the physical causes of crime, comparing the viscera of honest and wicked men; looking into and dissecting dead hearts, and the physicians gloated over so rare a case as that of Lemaire.

The tables of dissection have never been supplied by a subject who held his *sang-froid* more persistently to the last. It was in the Ecole de Medecine that the examination took place. The cerebral mass, which was unusually well developed, and showed extraordinary intelligence, was deformed by large protuberances in that section where science has located the sanguinary instincts; and after the examination, the eminent doctors gave it as their opinion that the vice of murder had been transmitted to Lemaire; that it was fatally transmissible, like diseases of the skin and blood, and that, had Lemaire lived to have grandchildren, they would inevitably have been brutal and impulsive in nature, and would doubtless have been guilty of shocking crimes. If, then, disease and derangements of the soul are transmissible like diseases of the blood, it is time we all began to be virtuous, that the generations who come after us may not go totally astray. The bust of the murderer has been exposed to the public and is attracting universal attention.—*Cor. Detroit Tribune.*

THE ROW IN THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE.

THE Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* says:

The papers have published but a very pale and emasculated account of the famous scene in the Chamber a week ago during the debate on the foreign policy of the government, or, as M. Thiers had it, the faults of the government. The scene lasted, in spite of the President's efforts, a quarter of an hour, and the most savage and insulting words, calling up the *souvenir* of the events which inaugurated the Empire, were thrown across the hall, creating an indescribable scene of excitement and confusion. The ball was opened by M. Rouher by the mention of the 2d December, the date of the *coup d'etat*, to which M. Jules Favre replied angrily, "Don't mention the 2d December in this hall!" Then M. Rouher forgot himself, in his anger, and exclaimed, "*Vous etes des factieux et des energumenes!*" ("You are but factious and evil men.") M. Pelletan hurled back: "*Et vous, vous etes des bandits!*" ("And you are bandits!") M. Thiers tried to make himself heard in the tumult, but was ordered to be silent, and as he talked on he worked himself into such a paroxysm of anger that he exclaimed: "Imprison me! kill me! do what you please with me!" and then sank exhausted in his seat. Imagine, if you can, the little fat old man in a towering passion, with his arms extended high above his head, and screaming the top of his squeaking voice, without change of tone "*Imprisonn-z-moi! Tuez-moi! Faitez de moi ce que vous voudrez! Je suis pret!*" And thus the storm went on till all the old accumulations of fifteen years of epithets had been belched out.

A SINGULAR statement is going the rounds that not long since an American artist wrote to Mr. Ruskin for advice upon the subject of art. The eminent English critic, who doubtless has had ten readers in the Northern States for one in any other part of the world, replied in a manner that seriously tries our confidence in his judgment and sincerity. The barbarous manner in which the people of the North, he wrote, had conducted the war upon the Southern people and their patriarchal institutions had utterly destroyed his interest in American art. True art, in fact, could not flourish among a people so depraved, and he therefore advised his friend to abandon all effort to tread the true path in art, and to confine himself to painting such pictures as were suited to the degraded taste of the Northern Americans.

GIVING JOY TO A CHILD.—Blessed be the hand that prepares a pleasure for a child, for there is no saying when and where it may again bloom forth. Does not almost everybody remember some kind-hearted man who showed him a kindness in the dulcet days of his childhood? The writer of this recollects himself at this moment as a barefooted lad, standing at the wooden fence of a poor little garden in his native village, while with longing eyes he gazed on the flowers which were blooming there quietly in the brightness of a Sunday morning. The possessor came forth from his little cottage; he was a wood-cutter by trade, and spent the whole week at work in the woods. He had come into the garden to gather flowers to stick into his coat when he went to church. He saw the boy, and breaking off the most beautiful of his carnations—it was streaked with red and white—he gave it to him. Neither the giver nor the receiver spoke a word, and with bounding steps the boy ran home. And now here, at a vast distance from that home, after so many events of so many years, the feeling of gratitude which agitated the breast of that boy expresses itself on paper. The carnation has long since withered, but now it blooms afresh.—*Douglas Jerrold.*

A COLORED speaker at the Nashville Negro Convention on the 13th said:

"Keep a sharp look-out for the Conservatives. They want to fool you, and are as crafty as the Canaanites were with Joshua. Some of those fellows got disheartened, just as the Conservatives are now, and so they put on old shoes, and stained apparel, and mouldy bread in their knapsacks, and slipped into the camp of Joshua, all dusty and travel-worn. They pretended to have come a long distance, and wanted to make a treaty of peace and amity. They fooled old Joshua to the top of their bent. The Canaanites are not all dead, and some of them live in Davidson county."

THERE was point in the remark of a negro speaker at the Nashville meeting:

"I don't blame the Conservatives for wanting our votes; we would, if we were in their fix. They claim to be our best friends. Well, I recollect when they sold my wife away from me, and my children, too. Oh! they say, you must forget all that. Well, we can forgive it, but we can never forget it as long as we have memories. I can respect a man who says he is a rebel, but not one who wants the Constitution as it was. Well, we don't. If he does, he is welcome to our old place in the cotton-patch."

ONE singular fact in connection with the death of Mr. Lincoln is that no Coroner's inquest was ever held on his body; no legal evidence taken as to the manner of his death, nor was a single person accused of connection with it ever brought into a court of law; nor is there to this day any legal testimony whatever as to the manner of his death, the cause of it, or who killed him.

THE Drew Theological Institute, at Carmel, New Jersey, has resolved that it will hereafter be open to colored persons, as well as to white.

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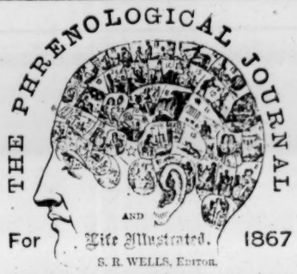
REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.
BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.



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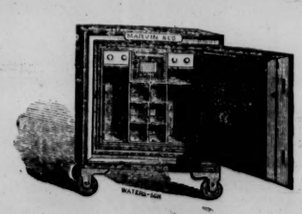
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